THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

FOURTH SERIES.—VOL. VII.—(XXXVII).—JULY, 1907.—No. 1.

THE PILLAR AND GROUND OF THE TRUTH.

ONE need not have a more than cursory acquaintance with current literature of a serious kind, nor any great experience of what men are commonly thinking and saying at the present time, to know that many minds are deeply perplexed by new problems which have arisen, chiefly as a result of modern scientific and historical research. These problems have to do with all-engrossing subjects of thought which, from the earliest times, have engaged the best and highest speculations of the human mind. Now, as of old, serious thinkers are occupied with questions that are ancient, yet ever new and ever recurring—questions which man has always asked himself concerning the origin and First Cause, the destiny and meaning of his own life and of the vast and complicated universe in which he dwells. New accessions of knowledge, and new theories constructed to account for freshly discovered facts, cause old difficulties to reappear in other forms than those which they have taken in the past; yet after all, it is, fundamentally, the "Old Riddle" that puzzles mankind. The difficulty of the situation is greatly increased by the fact that, in our own days, discoveries and theories which used to be the monopoly of the learned, are quickly made common property by means of a press which is ubiquitous, and for which no subject is too sacred to be handled. The handling is not always done wisely nor too well, with the consequence that not only are well-ascertained

facts of science and history placed before the public in a bald way, without those explanations and qualifications which ought to go with them, and which would not be omitted by a truly scientific man in his account of them; but, further, many mere theories and unproved suppositions are put forward by journalists as if they were the actually proven conclusions of science. The journalist, too, is a power in the land, and for unreflecting persons speaks with *ex-cathedrâ* authority.

Religion, indeed, has offered a solution of the great problems of the world and of life. This solution is entirely satisfactory to those who can lay aside pride of intellect; who are content to exercise faith; who can resist the temptation to smart theorizing, and recognize that there are and must be, above us and about us, in nature as well as in the spiritual realm, high mysteries which neither science nor religion can profess to bring down to the level of our finite understanding. For such as these religion—by which I mean, of course, the full revelation of Jesus Christ—is competent to secure their full confidence, and, while declaring to them great truths which they may not fathom to all the extent of their profound significance, and revealing to them a vast unseen world of spiritual realities encompassing the world that they can touch and see, is yet able to obtain a ready and steadfast acquiescence as being, in very truth, a message from on high.

But religious faith does not render its possessors immune from trial nor from temptations even to doubt. Much less, then, does it secure them from passing perplexity caused by an honest attempt to find a reason for the faith that is in them. Herein faith is a meritorious act. Moreover, in these days of criticism, the religious solution of world-problems and life-problems is impugned by theories that would account for faith itself and for all religion by ascribing them to a purely natural evolution of human thought and consciousness. This is, indeed, cutting away the ground from beneath our feet. If, then, any Christian, however faithfully and steadfastly he may hold to his belief, is yet liable to real temptations against faith, much more, with so many varied causes

of disturbance at work, may he be at times perplexed, though by no means overset, by questions which force themselves upon his notice. In such a case the honest endeavor, without any loosening of the bonds of faith, to justify his position and to find that reconciliation of the truths of nature with the truths of religion which he knows to be possible, is not necessarily wrong, and may be often a duty. I do not speak of what may be called "tinkering" with one's faith; but of the reverent study of the grounds of religion and of its claims to stand justified in the face of the most specious objections brought against it in the past, or to be met with in the future. From this reverent study, conducted by each one according to the exigencies of his position and the measure of his capacities and opportunities, with due regard also to all the circumstances which can affect its legitimacy, none but the most simple and ignorant may altogether dispense themselves. To dally with a downright temptation against faith; to entertain a serious doubt, is, of course, always wrong. Under stress of such temptation the only safe course is flight—to utter a hearty *credo*, to refuse discussion with the tempter, and to persevere with renewed fervor in the holy practices of religion. This course of action, recommended by the long experience of the Church in her divinely-guided work of healing souls, as well as by the well-known principles of psychology, from which we learn how action re-acts upon thought, is man's part in a struggle which grace will make victorious.

But mere perplexity need not involve any temptation to real doubt, and to such perplexity the most faithful Christian may sometimes be subject. A Catholic living in the world cannot be deaf and blind. His lot is cast among other men. He hears what they say and knows what they think. Often he has more intimate knowledge of men's difficulties and questionings than any priest in his quiet presbytery. He is rightly forbidden to read books or writings having for their object a direct attack upon religion; but, unless he never reads anything at all, and shuts his ears to all that is being said around him, he cannot fail to find presented to his mind

some of the present-day problems with which religion is confronted. It is by no means unusual for a Catholic to be applied to by those not of the faith for enlightenment in their own perplexities. There are numbers of people, young and old, who wish to believe but cannot find solid ground upon which to rest their faith. They will go to a Catholic as to one whom they justly conceive to have a firmer basis for religious belief than they themselves possess; and they rightly consider that he should be able to help them. Very often, we may surely believe, they do find the help which they need. But in this way, as well as by casual reading which he cannot avoid unless he never opens a newspaper or a magazine, a Catholic may find himself confronted by questions of which he has never heard before, and there may arise in his mind, without the least unfaithfulness, a temporary perplexity from which he may not at once see his way to escape. If his faith be firm, he will not think for a moment that he is called upon to re-consider his position. Two courses are then open to him. He may either forcibly put away from his mind the questions which perplex him, or he may try to clear them up. If he has no duties toward others which urge him to the second of these two courses, and if he can successfully take the first course, one would say that he had better do so. But he may have duties toward others which make it incumbent upon him to seek either an explanation of his difficulties, or some antidote which shall rob them of their power to disturb his peace of mind. Again, he may be unable merely to put his perplexity from him without an attempt to find a solution or, at least, a preventive that shall make it cease from troubling him. It is for the sake of those who find themselves precluded in certain circumstances from a mere shelving of the question that these thoughts are put forth by the present writer.

The trial of faith, and therefore the merit of fidelity to our religious beliefs, arises from the fact that religion deals ultimately with things unseen. These invisible realities cannot be verified by outward sense or by those mental faculties

which are our guide in the things of this world. We cannot *prove* the truth of the mysteries of religion either by experiment or reasoning. We hold to them by virtue of a supernatural power which we know as the gift of faith. Our coöperation with this grace of faith is, indeed, required; and that coöperation is a matter of the will, brought to bear upon the intellect, moving it to attention and assent. But the secret operations of divine grace do not ignore, neither do they exclude the action of our natural faculties. These are worked upon by grace. This divine influence infuses into them a superior force and elevates them to higher capacities than those which they possess by nature; but at the same time, far from destroying their natural activity, does but intensify and perfect it. Nothing would seem to justify the divorce which some have imagined to exist between the processes of human intelligence and will acting respectively with and without grace. Thus, though religious belief is a supernaturalized act of the intellect, involving also supernaturalized acts of the will, that belief *is*, nevertheless, the action of human faculties, and the whole psychological process of an ordinary natural act of assent to truth is also present in an act of faith. In other words, God respects, if we may reverently say it, that human nature and those human faculties which He has created. If this is so, if human nature is not set aside in the supernatural acts which the creature elicits under the influence of divine grace, by which he is enabled, as in the exercise of faith, and hope, and charity, to come into contact with the purely supernatural things of God; so also it will be with those processes of the mind in the acquisition of religious truth which are not, absolutely speaking, impossible for man's natural faculties to complete. Man is able, for instance, speaking again absolutely, to arrive at the knowledge of God's existence, and of certain of His attributes. A vague knowledge of God's existence is, indeed, one of the primary acquisitions of the intellect on its first awakening to the exercise of its rational powers.

But a more definite knowledge of God is not entirely be-

yond the capacity of human intelligence, as the results of pre-Christian, heathen philosophy bear witness. Nevertheless the millions are, morally speaking, unable to arrive at such knowledge of God and of their own souls as shall be more than vague unless they are taught. Here, again, Divine Providence has condescended to the nature of the creature. In the operations of grace God uses our human faculties as instruments in His work of perfecting them. In bringing mankind to the knowledge of Himself he has regard to the limitations imposed upon those faculties by nature and circumstances. Beginning with certain vague and indefinite notions of God and themselves, notions gained by the natural light of reason and just sufficient for a starting-point, men in the mass are not left to the morally impossible task of thinking out for themselves all the truths which philosophy lays down as the rational preliminaries of faith. Such truths are included also in revelation, and by means of revelation become known to mankind at large with certainty and ease. In producing their acceptance by the mind, moreover, grace too has its part, although these truths are not of the number of " mysteries hidden in God " which we are absolutely unable to know apart from divine revelation, or meritoriously to believe without the gift of faith. We may well suppose that in this matter God allows our human faculties to do what they can, and that the influences of grace are more and stronger, and the persuasive action of revelation more extended in its educative action in proportion as the individual intelligence is less capable of reasoning to such truths by itself. A philosopher may gain by thinking much of the truth which must be acquired by him before *his* mind is prepared for the final act of faith; not so the ordinary man. The philosopher will need, perhaps, many such preparatory truths to lead him on to the acceptance of mysteries by simple faith. For the ordinary man a few are quite sufficient.

Now it would seem to be a further instance of the tender condescension of Almighty God in dealing with souls that in the number of truths pre-requisite to faith there are some of

a comparatively simple nature, concrete, imposing, and calculated to arouse the attention and impress themselves deeply upon the minds of all, even the most uneducated, to whom they are presented. Such simpler truths are frequently in the form of objective facts, either visible in themselves and matters of actual personal experience, or vouched for by the strong testimony of those whom we know to be entirely trustworthy. Miracles, for instance, and the fulfilment of prophecy, are known to us by historical testimony. But there is one grand objective fact, visible, and the subject of personal experience, which is not only the most striking and persuasive of those preliminaries to faith which lead on to faith itself, but is also an ever-present and most effectual means to reassure the mind of a Catholic who may experience at any time that perplexity which I have mentioned as a possible result of modern problems. After all, a philosopher even may have his moments of weakness, when the imposing substratum of truth which his reason has acquired seems to be slipping away, and he is tempted to distrust the validity of the process by which he has acquired it. He remembers that he is but human, and that human reasoning is subject to many obstacles rising up to obscure its vision of the truth. So too a Catholic, though possessed already of faith, may feel the need of recalling once more the strong motives which persuade him that God has spoken to men. The philosopher is thus reduced to the condition of his humbler, simpler fellows, and the Catholic can sympathize with those who wander in the darkness of perplexity and doubt.

In truth, human nature is the same in all of us, and has this characteristic, that it is swayed more effectually by what is visible and tangible than by abstract truths. These latter, too, however firm their hold upon us when we are fully masters of ourselves and of our faculty of abstract reasoning, are apt to recede into a dim distance when anxiety or ill-health or perplexity disturb that calmness of mind which abstract thought demands. The same causes, and others affecting the spiritual life, may render far off and seemingly unreal the

truths that faith itself has taught us. Then it is that, like the humblest, we need some great external, objective fact, staring us, as it were, in the face, to bring us to ourselves again. And such we have, by the disposition of that merciful Providence whose tender consideration for our nature we have been considering. The objective fact of which I speak is the existing visible Church Catholic set up before us in all her marvellous grandeur and vitality.

It may seem to the reader that we have arrived at a mere truism. Nevertheless the Church, as she is, formed an essential part of the Divine, eternal plan for man's salvation—a plan which, as we have seen, took into account all the nature and all the needs of fallen human kind. Moreover, as a matter of known fact, the mere sight of the living Church has settled the question of faith for many souls as soon as they were led to turn their gaze seriously upon her. Cardinal Newman, if I mistake not, speaks of the large part that this vision of the City of God had in his final decision to enter her portals. I believe it also to be true that any Catholic who, by duty or otherwise, has been led to consider the problems which are exercising thoughtful and religious minds will be able to record, as a matter of frequent experience, that one glance at this great abiding fact of the Catholic Church, strong and vigorous and full of splendid energy now as ever through the long centuries of her magnificent history, has been effectual in restoring that tranquillity of trustful faith which the voice of a too confident science or of an unreasonably extortionate criticism had for a moment disturbed.

In the visible, tangible Church, then, we have a providential safeguard, adapted to the minds of all, learned and unlearned, against the urgent questionings of human curiosity. It is adapted to all because it is fitted to meet a common need of all humanity. We are, by our very nature, greatly and strongly affected by what is palpable and seen. A purely spiritual religion, void of forms and ceremonies, emptied of sacraments, with their wonderful combination of significant outward symbol and interior signified grace; a religion without a mighty

visible exponent in the shape of a Church, would be altogether above us. True, God might have wrought in us, by His direct action alone, all the saving work which is now shared between inward grace and outward means; between the Holy Spirit working in the heart and the persuasive agencies of preaching and teaching, of outward forms of worship, of a visible authoritative ministry, and, in a word, of the whole tangible system of Catholicism. But that would have been precisely *not* the way which we have been considering as so wonderfully and tenderly adapted by God to man's twofold nature as an immortal spirit dwelling within a material frame. We have, besides, in the Church, the standing witness that God has not chosen to prescribe to man a religion in which the spirit only shall have part, but one in which all his being has its share. Lastly, this vision of the living Church has a virtue to reassure which is permanent in its efficacy, whatever be the form perplexity may take.

Many are disturbed by the fact that modern research is dealing in a very free way with the origins of the Church herself, and is putting forward conceptions even of Catholicism which would make it quite another thing than what it actually is. Against such views, as against any possible perversion of the true nature of the Church, she herself, regarded as she is now and ever has been and ever will be, is the best argument. Herself, her work, her accomplishments in the training of souls for sanctity and perfection are the best answer to those who would give of the Church a different account than her own, or ascribe all religions alike to a purely natural evolution of human thought; who would put down miracles to a highly cultivated power of hypnotic suggestion, and the fulfilment of prophecy to a credulous ingenuity in the discovery of a connexion between the voices of the past and the events of after times which does not really exist. Let men say what they will, we may rest secure upon the knowledge that in the living Church we have a sure foundation, firm as a rock, the "pillar and ground of the truth," the great Church Catholic who "of Herself, by reason of her marvellous propagation,

her excellent sanctity and inexhaustible fruitfulness in all good; by her Catholic unity and unconquered stability, is a great and perpetual motive for credence and an irrefragable witness of her own divine mission." [1]

H. G. HUGHES.

Shefford, England.

TRUE SITE OF CALVARY AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

(Continued.)

3. THE ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS.

Whatever reliable positive data are extant on the subject of the actual site of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, have come to us through the following sources:

GREEK FATHERS: *Eusebius* (260-329 A. D.): Life of Constantine, Bk. III, Ch. XXV-XXVIII (M.—XX, cc. 1085-1089). Letter of Constantine, ib. XXX-XXXI (M. XX, cc. 1089-1092).

Socrates (b. 379 A. D.): Church Hist. Bk. I, XVII, (M. LXVII, cc. 117-120).

Sozomen (375-450 A. D.): Church Hist. Bk. II, 1-11, (M. LXVII, cc. 929-933).

The Monk Alexander (VI century): The Finding of the Holy Cross. (M. LXXXVII, cc. 4045, and 4061-4064.)

LATIN FATHERS: *Rufinus* (345-410 A. D.): Church Hist. Bk. I, VII-VIII, (M.—P. Lat. XXI, cc. 475-477).

St. Jerome (346-420 A. D.): Ep. to Paulinus (No. LVIII) (M. XXII, cc. 580-581).

Paulinus of Nola (353-431 A. D.): Ep. to Severus (XXXI), (M. LXI, cc. 326-328).

Sulpitius Severus (363-420 A. D.): Sacred History, Bk. II, XXXIII-XXXIV (M. XX, cc. 147-148).

Were the testimonies of these Fathers accepted at their face value, the problem would be solved at once. But so many exceptions have been taken to the way they relate the matter

[1] Vatican Council. Constitution "de fide Catholica."

under discussion that it is necessary to subject them to a treatment that is almost juridical. For the present all that need be agreed to is that each of the witnesses deserves a hearing; for all of them, with one exception, lived within a century after the presumed recovery. They lived in the age when the whole Christian world was throbbing over Constantine's success, and over this special token of divine approval in particular. They are the best vouchers for the traditions of their time, and for those of the immediately preceding times, if vouchers may be had at all. Moreover they show enough of scrupulous honesty to be believed, especially in the present matter. They distinguish between what they hold as certain and what is mere hearsay. Listen, for instance, to Socrates. After narrating that Helena had sent a relic of the true Cross to Constantine, and that the Emperor had "placed it in his statue which stands on a massive purple column at Constantinople," the writer adds: "I have inserted this matter into this history as a hearsay. However, all those who dwell at Constantinople bear witness to it." Only a critical and most honest historian would make the remark.

An observation of Sozomen is even more valuable and significant. He thus concludes the history of Constantine's and Helena's pious work at Jerusalem: "These occurrences are related by us as we have learned them. We have been instructed by men who have been accurately informed concerning them, and to whom the knowledge has come by a continuous transmission from father to son, as well as from those who, by consigning them to writing, have left them as a remembrance to future generations."

Two sources are pointed out, written and oral, and no discord is detected between them. The instructors were "accurately informed," and the transmission was "direct." What is this but to say that we are dealing with authors the most reliable that the age could furnish? And if they had written documents before their eyes, it must be admitted that writings were as unchangeable and true in those days as they are to-day. They represent, therefore, the men, the thoughts,

the beliefs, and the periods that produced them, and until a verdict of fraud and falsification can be duly pronounced upon them, it were folly to close our eyes against them.

Over a half a century ago Robinson excogitated a "pious-fraud" theory to explain the existence of many of the sanctuaries and traditions of the Holy Land. In recent years Dr. Breen [67] has evolved a "pious-imagination" theory for the same purpose. The difference between the two, as applied to the Holy Sepulchre, consists in this, that Robinson weaves the whole of the story "*ex post facto*," to use his own expression; [68] while Dr. Breen sees in it a psychological phenomenon, growing out of "superstitious zeal." It is a legendary fabric, the warp and woof of which "cannot stand the test of historical criticism." It had better be discarded. In short, since, among the numerous sanctuaries in the Holy Land, "some" are found to be spurious, "the disregard for historic truth" in these instances "throws doubt upon all." [69]

The fallacy in this method of argumentation is obvious. It is true that the localization of a large percentage of the sanctuaries in question cannot be authenticated in a scientific manner, yet the Holy Sepulchre at least is not of the number. This is what we now undertake to show.

The Greek Fathers above mentioned are unanimous in making a temple to Venus the immediate predecessor to Constantine's basilica. Socrates and Sozomen say that it contained an idol. Constantine, in his letter to Macarius, refers to it as "an encumbrance of idols;" while Eusebius describes it now as "an accursed sepulchre of souls," and then as "a gloomy cavern of lifeless idols," where the heathen "sacrificed on impure altars."

The only variants, if such they may be called, in this part of the tradition, are peculiar to the Latin Fathers. Rufinus, without mentioning the temple, makes allusion to the statue to Venus, as well as to "objects of profanity and contamination" in general. Severus specifies nothing further than certain

[67] *Op. cit.*, p. 465. [68] *Op. cit.*, p. 413. [69] *Ibid.*, pp. 466-467.

"idols and temples at Jerusalem;" while Paulinus is silent about the Sepulchre, and places an idol to Jupiter on "the place of the Passion."

These testimonies, although less precise and complete than the preceding, harmonize perfectly with them. But now comes a statement of St. Jerome that the statue of Jupiter, instead of being on the site of the Passion, was on that of the Resurrection, while the statue of Venus was "on the rock of the Cross." It is this witness alone that disconcerts Dr. Breen, and which leads him to assert that "the truth of Christianity is benefited by the rejection of these legends."

It might be more prudent to inquire whether St. Jerome was not possibly mistaken. He is only one against several. He was not born until twenty years after the event, whereas Eusebius either was an eye-witness or had his information from eye-witnesses, since he was Bishop of Cæsarea (Palæstina), and actually assisted at the dedication of Constantine's Basilica. It has been suggested that Jerome voices an erroneous Western tradition. Moreover, the Greek Fathers, with the exception of Alexander, profess to write history, whereas St. Jerome briefly alludes to the matter in his personal correspondence. Which are we to believe? Even though we desire to strain at gnats, the most we can say is, that the difficulty goes no further than the idol itself; for all are agreed as to the presence of a shrine and that the shrine marked the place of the Sepulchre.

It would not be so very absurd to place several idols in the same temple, so that Jupiter and Venus might be venerated side by side. We know that this was done at Carthage and other capitals of the Empire. This theory would have the double advantage of explaining the plurals used by Eusebius —"a gloomy cavern of lifeless idols;" and by Rufinus—"objects of profanity and contamination;" and at the same time, of solving the seemingly insurmountable difficulty of Dr. Breen, who fears that if we place one temple over the Sepulchre and another on Calvary, the two would have to have been too close together.[70]

[70] *Op. cit.*, p. 466.

The historians are unanimous in testifying that the temple was erected on a paved platform of rubbish and earth, which, according to Sozomen, was surrounded by a wall. But this unanimity is valueless in the mind of Dr. Breen. "It is hard to believe," he says, for "the whole place is on a slight eminence."[71] True indeed, but there is a still higher eminence behind it; for this part of Jerusalem rises in terraces, and to form a large platform or a large level enclosure of any sort in this district it is necessary either to cut away the stone, as was done by Eustachius, Constantine's architect, or to fill up the lower levels, as the pagans are said to have done. Besides, even a superficial observer of existing temples knows that no matter at how high an altitude the temples have been erected, there is always a platform of moderate height beneath them.

But who were the authors of this profanation, and what was their purpose? Our information on this point must be understood as furnished by a superstitious age. It was the age where all contact "between light and darkness," "between Christ and Belial," had ceased—that is, as far as Christian sympathy was concerned. But the old habits of thinking still survived. Christian zeal and fervor were worked up to a high pitch; but because they were new, they were narrow, even shackled. Little distinction was made between deeds and intentions. The deed naturally stood for the intention, and if the deed was bad, there was a demon at the bottom of it; if it was good, it was inspired by God. The tendency bordered on the Manicheistic, but it certainly existed, and it exists to-day. It predominates in those whose religious education is imperfect. It is the tendency that has introduced so much fiction into the lives of the saints, and that has from the earliest times encompassed the truths of faith with volumes of apocryphal traditions.[72]

It is the desire to perceive the ideal in the past order of

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] It is the tendency that called the Bollandists into existence and that has made modern methods of Biblical study a necessity.

things, that is so frequently accompanied by a neglect to realize it in the present. For this reason we anticipate the motives assigned to those who built the Christian basilica, in order to contrast them with the motives ascribed to the builders of the Temple.

Eusebius represents Constantine as working in accordance with the will of God, in virtue of "the inspiration of the Saviour;" whereas the pagan builders are stigmatized as "impious men," or rather "the entire host of demons with the aid of impious men." Constantine speaks of having been "commanded by God" to execute his noble enterprise. And that command was to be carried out after the destruction of "the common enemy of all."

These are the expressions that are characterized by Robinson as "hardly appropriate in speaking of a spot well known and definitely marked by long tradition." [73] The force of the objection lies in this. If Constantine needed a divine intimation, it was because the place was really lost to human memory. If the builders of the temple are styled demons, it is because their names had been forgotten, and their memory had died out with that of the sepulchre they had hidden. As a consequence, it is not even probable that the genuine sepulchre was found. Rather, the idol was merely standing "*over the spot fixed upon by Constantine as the Sepulchre.*" [74]

This last assertion is utterly groundless. Were its author required to produce as much convincing proof for it as he demands of us for our position, his response would be one of complete impotence. Is there any one who would attempt to justify such a conclusion by the premises assigned? Was not the reaction against the grossness of heathen cults sufficient to prompt the use of the ill-favored terminology? Moreover, if Robinson's conclusion be true, it is vain that the authors tell us of the Emperor's design to adorn "the place of the Resurrection" as a place well known or easy to be found. In vain do they tell us of the surprise experienced by the Em-

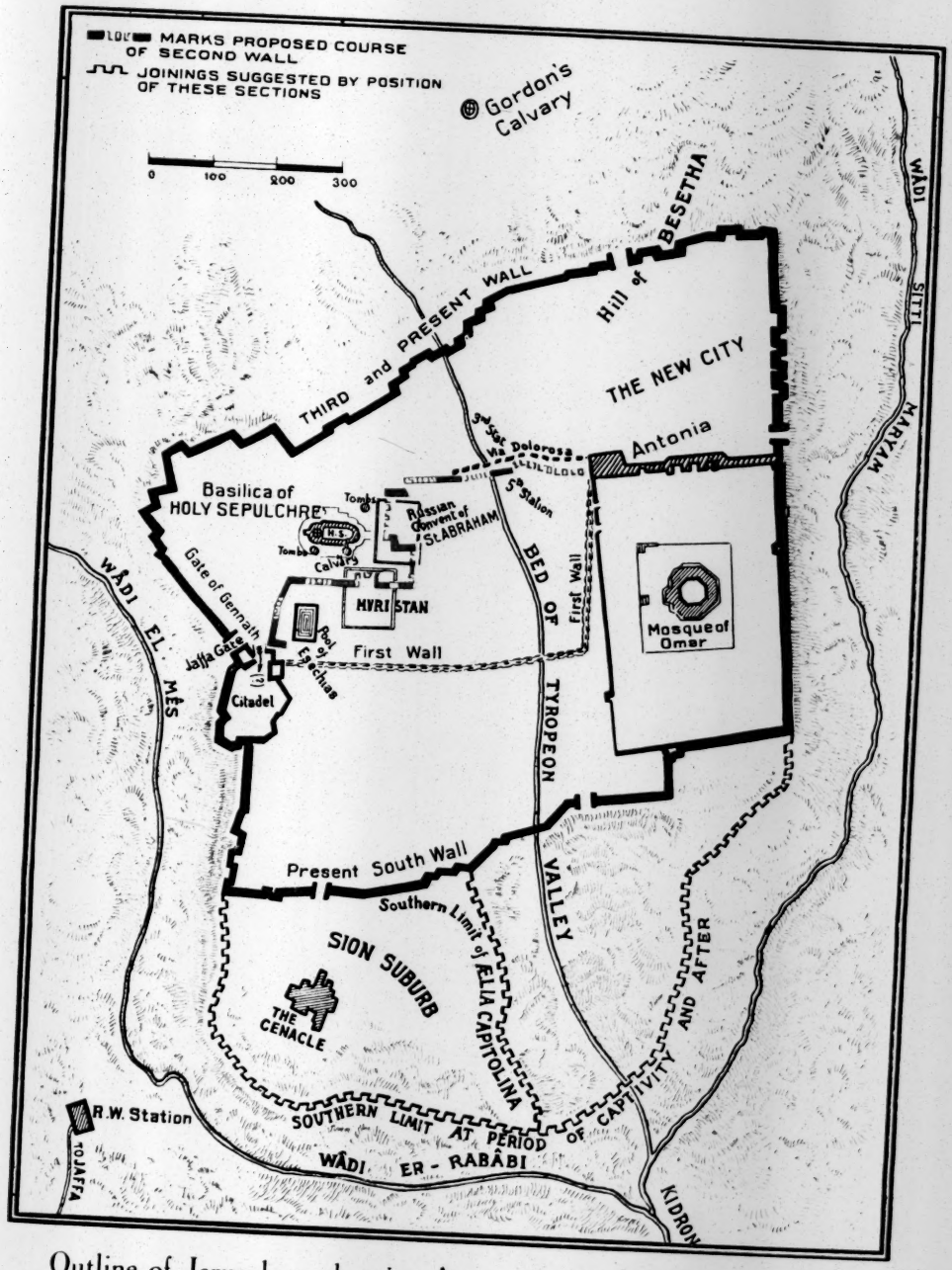
[73] *Op. cit.*, p. 414. [74] *Ibid.*, p. 413. The italics are Robinson's.

peror, by his mother, and by the faithful at large, at the appearance of "the grotto," the three crosses, the nails, and Pilate's inscription—all near together. It is fiction that they would then narrate, and their rôle would be that of deceivers. Indeed Paulinus would become a notorious forger, for he tells us that after prudent consultation with well-informed inhabitants and strangers, Jews as well as Christians, "the advices were found in agreement regarding the place of the Passion." This deliberation took place before the excavations were begun.

The trend of thought which is claimed by those of delicate susceptibilities to mar the testimonies of Eusebius and Constantine characterizes also the other sources. The "impious men" and "host of demons" become, in Sozomen, "Gentiles who had formerly persecuted the Church;" in Socrates, "those who abhorred the religion of Christ;" in Alexander, "idolaters instigated by the devil." Rufinus is more moderate. He conceives them as "persecutors of preceding times." So far, we are without any definite indication of who these men were or of the time in which they lived. St. Jerome certainly attributes the idols to the time of Hadrian; but it is Paulinus who goes a step further in ascribing the infamous work to Hadrian himself.

That these several witnesses agree substantially, is recognizable on a single reading of them. The only loophole open for an opponent is that the Latin Fathers are more specific than the Greek. But there is no ground for annoyance in that. If the idols were erected by Hadrian, our contention in favor of the Holy Sepulchre involves no inconsistency, and much less an impossibility of continuous transmission, as the foregoing remarks have shown. On the other hand, should it be proved that the "impious men" were posterior to Hadrian, it is evident that the Christians of Aelia would have been left all the longer unmolested in the possession and veneration of the sanctuary, and that the embarrassments of succeeding years would have had less chance to obliterate the sacred remembrance of it.

It is the use of the term "persecutor" that causes some per-



Outline of Jerusalem, showing Approximately the Course of the Ancient Walls, prepared for a Study of the Second Wall

plexity. Do Sozomen and Rufinus refer to open hostilities practised against the Christians, between the ages of Hadrian and Constantine? The term is a little too general to justify such an inference. Besides, no open persecution is on record. The molestation seems to have been nothing more than the confiscation of the tomb with the surrounding area from the Christians, and this act, as is clearly seen, may have been regarded by the authorities as a due subordination of private rights to those of the public. Aelia was to be a city honorable to the gods. Christians would have to submit. It is even possible that this was but another way of branding "impious men." If the latter were "demons," they might for a stronger reason be called "persecutors."

The use of the term seems all the more consistent, when we reflect upon the purpose with which the heathen are charged with acting. Severus is the only witness who fails to assign an unworthy motive. All the others agree in attributing the act to an unfriendly, "fraudulent," or malicious, attitude toward the Christians. A few add a *secondary* motive, the increase of the cult of Venus. Sozomen and Rufinus declare that the pagans erected the idols to the end that Christians who might venerate the Sepulchre before them, might seem to honor Venus. Alexander is perhaps more correct in saying that Christians were forbidden to approach the place. His statement is at least more in conformity with the *principal* motive assigned for the unholy act.

The *principal* motive was double. It regarded the Church in general and the Holy Place in particular. Sozomen represents the Gentiles as "having strained every nerve to crush the nascent Church," and, accordingly, as having resolved to bury the whole place of Calvary and the Resurrection. St. Jerome and Paulinus speak only of a desire "to extinguish the faith." Eusebius holds that they were bent upon obscuring the truth in their endeavors "to involve the monument in darkness and oblivion" by "utterly destroying it." Socrates and Alexander make no greater accusation than a wish to prevent veneration.

The inclination to molest the Christians was a necessary upshot of the antagonism that naturally existed between paganism and Christianity. The two cults were forces that had been in conflict from the beginning, and there need be no surprise that, when paganism was in its death throes, the works of its partisans, should be stigmatized and blackened by the triumphant though uncultured zeal of its conquerors.

By a reverse effect, uncouth and untheological enthusiasm would exalt the esteem in which Christian leaders were held. Conversion in those early times was mainly a passage from polytheistic to monotheistic beliefs,[75] and since communication with the gods was so easy in heathenism, Christianity must have had a substitute. What was that substitute?

At bottom, it was the Incarnation—not a man made God, the pagan idea, but God become man. That union was close, but personal communication with the Deity must follow at least occasionally. The close resemblance of the "cross in the heavens" to the star that guided the magi is sufficient proof. Here also the pagan idea was reversed. It was not man consulting the Divinity, but the Divinity unsolicited speaking to man. Constantine was in communication with God, as Moses had been before him. It was the void left by paganism filled up—and the fact was proclaimed to the world. The labarum graced the Capitol, and the triumphal arch that commemorated the victory of Milvian Bridge bore the device: "Instinctu Divinitatis." Why marvel, then, that the memorable work at Jerusalem that caused the harp-strings of all the known world to vibrate, should be attributed to "the inspiration of the Saviour" (Eusebius), to "divine admonitions" (Socrates, Rufinus), or to "the direct command of God" (Constantine)? Why wonder that the saintly Helena, who here enters into the story, should be depicted as obedient to "divine admonitions and counsels" (Paulinus), received in sleep (Socrates)?

[75] This much at least was common to all conversions. A change of life was not always so assured, and there are numerous examples of criminals living under the same roof with saints.

To accept this part of tradition is not so hard as rationalists represent it; yet we need not insist thereon. What matters it if the Emperor or his mother did or did not enjoy special Divine patronage, since such intervention never dispenses with the integrity of the human element in the work performed? Why then cast aside these narratives as travesties of history, merely because the human element is partly neglected in order to give fuller scope to the Divine. Is it the spirit of the Ages of Faith that affrights us? Are we to deny the facts they furnish us simply because they regarded them with pious eyes?

Indeed we might better vindicate their method of treatment, if we listen to a comment of Paulinus. "Helena," he says, "was guided by Divine counsel, *as the result of her investigations has shown.*" He appeals to her *success* as a proof of Divine intervention. The process is *a posteriori.* Are we wholly unfamiliar with that way of thinking to-day?

The path is now clear of all remote obstacles, to the acceptance of tradition. We approach the main facts.

Much confusion has been imputed to the historians, as to the rôles played by Constantine and Helena. Eusebius makes not the slightest allusion to the latter. Neither does the Emperor in his letter to Macarius. The remaining writers [16] do; and the importance and prestige of Helena grow in succeeding centuries.

Since the whole affair is known to have been an imperial transaction through the instrumentality of Helena, and since the letter of Constantine borders on the impersonal, there is a double excuse for the omission made by Constantine. As regards Eusebius various explanations have been alleged. A not improbable one is his adulation for the Emperor. Eusebius, it will be remembered, not only wrote a "Life of Constantine," he devoted also an entire volume to the "Praises of Constantine." Yet it may be asked with Sir Charles Wil-

[16] Except St. Jerome, whose scope does not require the mention of personages.

son:[77] "Is Eusebius the only court prelate who has written fulsome praise of a monarch whose conduct was not above reproach? . . . Constantine was infinitely superior to many of his successors who reigned centuries after Christianity had become the religion of the State."

It is even averred that Eusebius was sceptical about the finding of the crosses, so universally ascribed to Helena, and, not wishing to displease an imperious master, by an avowal of his doubts, he preferred to let the finder and the finding go unnoticed. But we shall treat of this matter later. Suffice it to say here that the silence of Eusebius could have only a negative force in discarding the episode of Helena; and even that force is lost, since the real witnesses to it explain themselves.

According to Sozomen, the Emperor was so jubilant after the Council of Nice "at seeing the whole Church at one in its doctrine of faith" and "in the agreement reigning among the bishops," that, "in token of his grateful mind . . . he determined to erect a church at Jerusalem near the place that is called Calvary." The visit of the Empress is a mere coincidence. "At the same time Helena, his mother, came to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer and the investigation of the sacred places, and, being previously attached to the religion of the Christians, her every desire was turned toward the recovery of the adorable Cross."

The version of Socrates is that Helena "came to Jerusalem and . . . began to inquire diligently about the monument of Christ." He then adds the welcome information that Constantine "munificently furnished all the materials for the construction of the churches." Alexander echoes this same information and speaks in particular of imperial letters and a large sum of money forwarded to Macarius by the Emperor.

If all this be true—and there is no reason for doubting it—Eusebius hardly deserves to be rebuked. Edifices erected with the approbation and munificence of Constantine may in all

[77] *Q. S.*, 1903, pp. 140-141.

truthfulness be accredited to him. The fault would rather lie with the other writers, unless they show us that the rôle of Helena was greater than that of messenger.

That this is precisely what they do is discernible at a glance. Alexander, for instance, states that the Empress, "availing herself of the imperial authority" with which she was invested, issued orders for the destruction of the pagan shrine. Severus imitates Paulinus [78] in referring to the position of Helena in the Empire as Augusta, and the latter writer declares that the "sinew" was furnished at the request of Helena herself. After this, what more is wanting? Helena conceived and, as we shall see, carried out the project, while Constantine furnished the means and the authority. Both shared in the merit of the work in such a way that either may be styled the author of it without prejudice to the other.

It is more important to unify the descriptions of the manner in which the work was executed, for here the preservation of the tradition is directly involved. For the sake of clearness, we shall consider collectively the following questions.

Did the express design to adorn the place of Calvary and the Resurrection precede or follow the supposed recovery? If it preceded, was the place supposed to be easily identified?

Eusebius begins his narrative thus: "After these things the Emperor, beloved of God, undertook another eminently memorable work in Palestine. What was this work? He deemed it his duty to make the most sacred place of our Lord's Resurrection at Jerusalem illustrious and venerable to all men. Therefore he gave orders that an oratory should be immediately built there."

Unless this text suffer violence, it must be taken at its par value. Eusebius, who was a contemporary of Constantine, lived near Jerusalem and had all the opportunities necessary for knowing the course of events. Consequently, when he represents the project of honoring "the place of the Lord's

[78] In Migne advantage is taken of this fact to restore a mutilated text of Paulinus from Severus.

Resurrection," as preliminary to the destruction of the temple of Venus and subsequent events, nothing short of preconceived ideas could move one to doubt his word. The letter of Constantine may be adduced in confirmation. "I wish to assure you," wrote the Emperor to Macarius, "that the desire I have had *longest* at heart is that we should adorn with a handsome edifice that sacred place which, by the command of God, I have cleared." A desire of yesterday is hardly called the one that has been cherished the "longest." Yet had the Emperor's project originated after the recovery, it would have been an entirely new one.

As regards the identification of "the place" in the mind of Constantine, it seems that neither Eusebius nor the Emperor leaves room for doubt. It appears that "the place of the Resurrection at Jerusalem" was either known or was easy to find, yet two remarks are necessary for an understanding of the texts.

Eusebius evidently testifies that although "the *place*" was known, the existence of "*the grotto*" *in the place* was wholly ignored. Constantine, actuated by a fervent zeal, or rather "the spirit of God," and "not being able to tolerate that the place of which we speak (i. e. of the Resurrection), choked up as it was by our adversaries with offscourings and filth of every sort, should be doomed to oblivion—after having invoked the patronage of God, his helper, ordered the place to be purified." Observe that the assistance of God was also invoked *before* the enterprise was begun.

"As soon as this order was issued by the Emperor, all that deceitful work was razed to the ground, and the edifices built to deceive men, together with the statues and demons, were destroyed and scattered."

Chapter XXVII continues: "The Emperor's zeal did not stop here. He ordered the ruins to be removed and cast far outside the confines of the place. This was immediately done. Yet the Emperor was far from being satisfied. Led on by holy zeal, he ordered that the earth which had been contaminated by the sacrifices of the demons, should be dug up to a great depth and borne far away."

Chapter XXVIII: "This was done without delay," and lo! "When the original lower stratum of soil was reached, beyond the hopes of all, the most holy monument of our Lord's Resurrection shone forth."

The comment of Eusebius that immediately follows is significant: "That grotto, which may properly be called the Holy of Holies, bore a certain likeness to our Saviour's Resurrection, since, after having been buried in darkness, it came forth again to the light and placed before the eyes of those who had come together to see it, the story of the miracles that had been previously performed there. Thus with an eloquence louder than words it witnessed to our Saviour's Resurrection."

The "monument" and "the grotto" are one and it was the impetuous zeal of Constantine rather than his foreknowledge that brought it to light. No one expected to find it. Its recovery was "*beyond the hopes of all*," yet "*the place*" [79] that contained it was known as that of the Resurrection. That platform of moderate height, paved with stone and "surrounded by a wall" (Sozomen), the site of the "Venerarium," [80] that "gloomy cavern of dead idols," was "the place," where Joseph's garden [81] had stood, "the place" where the Lord had been buried. It indeed had not been forgotten though its hidden treasure had long lay concealed.

Let us now give our attention to Dr. Breen. In his opinion, Eusebius "gives no evidence by which they knew that it was the Holy Sepulchre, except by saying that it was a cave, and this conflicts with the Gospels." [82]

To any one who reads attentively the quotation just made from Eusebius,[83] it ought to be clear that the evidence consists not in *the discovery* of a cave, but in the discovery of a

[79] Another expression of Eusebius is noteworthy, for in it he again distinguishes between "the grotto" and "the place." "These impious men thought to destroy utterly this holy grotto. . . . Accordingly they brought thither earth with great labor and filled up *the whole place*."

[80] The name is employed by St. Ambrose in a doubtful passage.

[81] Jno. 19:41.

[82] *Op. cit.*, p. 467.

[83] Translation in great part is that of Dr. Breen himself.

cave *in a given place*, a place marked with more or less distinctness as that of the Resurrection.

It is another question whether the cave theory meets the requirements of the Gospels. Dr. Breen's proof of the contrary is as follows: "The tendency of Christian traditions as we find them to-day in the East, is to locate everything in caves. The place of the birth of the Blessed Virgin is a cave, John the Baptist's birthplace is a cave, the stable where our Lord was born is a cave, there is a cave where He is thought to have sought shelter during His forty days in the desert, and the most absurd of all is the tradition that places His Agony in the garden in a cave . . . Every word of the Gospel account of the Agony in the Garden proclaims the falseness of the grotto of the Agony. This disregard for historical truth in locating *some* of these sanctuaries throws a doubt upon *all* the traditions." [84]

We have already exposed the fallacy contained in the last proposition, and we may let pass the comment on the grotto of the Agony. We have produced the argument in full, because it contains a deal of wheat. Yet it needs be sifted, for there is still a little chaff. In short, we do not think that Dr. Breen has proved his thesis.

The region of Judea abounds in caves. When the people of Israel were struck with fear before the Philistines who were encamped at Machmas, a great number of them hid themselves in caves.[85] Certain rotund caves at Bêt Jibrîn and in the neighboring territory were anciently used as human abodes, and a few of them later served as Christian churches (catacombs). There are a few caves at Bethany, others near Mâr Sâbâ, still others not far north of Jerusalem, that are even to-day used as habitations by the Arabs. The great attraction of the monks of this region in early times was the multitude of natural caves. The caves at Adullam, Thecua, also those at Bêt Jibrîn, together with numerous others, serve nowadays as stables. Even those that are used as dwellings

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 466.

[85] I Sam. 13: 6.

are frequently partitioned by a lacerated curtain or sometimes by mere cords, so that one half accommodates the family while the other half contains the meagre possessions in fowl, cattle, and swine. Subterranean columbaria are not unknown, while every ordinary hypogeum has one or more caves near its well-formed tombs. Indeed, "tombs in the East were often natural caves," [86] as Dr. Breen asserts elsewhere.

This narration is not an attempt to substantiate all the cave-traditions. It is intended merely to show the invalidity of a purely anti-cave argument. More pertinent, in the present instance, is the ancient custom of frequently hewing tombs in the side of the natural rock,[87] to which access was had from a level area beneath. That the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea was one of this sort is clear from the Gospel statement that it was in a garden and that it was closed by rolling a stone against the door. Again, a proof that the present Holy Sepulchre was a tomb of this sort is had from the way it is entered, from the configuration of the rock in and about the Basilica, and from the comparatively recent discovery of a similar tomb near the so-called Prison of Christ.[88]

Now what objection can there be in styling a sepulchre of this kind "a cave"? What does the Gospel say against it? Is the citation made by Dr. Breen really opposed to it? The Doctor italicizes the description of Joseph's tomb. It was one "*which he had hewn out in the rock.*" [89] Did it cease therefore to be of the cave-genus? And if it were a cave before the hewing—as it might have been—would its new symmetry be sufficient to deprive it of the name? Eusebius would not

[86] *Op. cit.*, p. 536.

[87] Judea is distinctively a "hill-country" (Luke 1: 39). Beneath a thin stratum of soil all is solid rock, mostly limestone. Plains are few. Cultivation is mostly on narrow artificial terraces. It was in the bare side of the rock between contiguous terraces that tombs were often made. Many such tombs are to-day seen in the valley of Hinnom and on the road between Jerusalem and Hebron. The tombs face the road. Olive orchards and gardens stand above them.

[88] A minor sanctuary in the Basilica. See *Q. S.*, 1903, p. 248.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 466.

lead us to think so. The venerable Bishop is, in fact, so far from pinning himself down to such etymological rigor that he terms the temple to Venus, which was literally "up in the air," at first "a sepulchre" and then "a cavern." Nor are we meddling with popular language and custom here. Eusebius would never have associated the ideas in a metaphor, if they were as absurd in the reality.

But, urges Dr. Breen, "Constantine did not expect to find the Holy Sepulchre, for he [Eusebius] declares that it was 'beyond the hopes of all, that it was found.'"[99] We might make the objection stronger by a quotation from Paulinus—"contrary to the hopes of all"—but we are confident that the difficulty has vanished ere now. It was not indeed expected that the "persecutors" who had sought to "extinguish the faith," would have left "the grotto," the crosses, and the like, in the condition in which they were found; but that does not interfere with the question. All took it for certain that the *Venerarium* marked the place of the Passion and Resurrection. The subsequent deduction that a grotto found beneath it and, as other writers tell us, three crosses, a few scattered nails, and a tablet that bore Pilate's inscription, were the venerable objects most certainly connected with the Passion and the death of Christ, was logical and unimpeachable on common-sense grounds.

The observation to be made about the epistle of Constantine is, that it was written in reply to a letter no longer extant. It begins: "So abundant is the grace of our Saviour that no fluency of speech seems suited to describe the present wonder. It surpasses all admiration that the token of His most sacred Passion, that was long ago buried beneath the earth and has remained in concealment so many years, should after the expulsion of the common enemy of all shine forth to His servants whose liberty has been retrieved."

The "present wonder" implies something otherwise understood. It is "the token of His most sacred Passion," the cross

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

mentioned a few words farther on as having been unearthed "in the place which, by the command of God, I have cleared." There we have the finding of the Cross localized at the place of the Resurrection, for that is the place Constantine had cleared. More data in this connexion will be forthcoming. Suffice it to say for the present that the Emperor, in the sequel, regards this place as endowed with additional holiness, inasmuch as it is "the source whence sprang faith in the Passion of the Lord." The reflexion springs evidently from the coincidence of the finding of "the token" with the unburying of "the place." The distinction is similar to that made by Eusebius, and the astonishment to which the Emperor gives full scope tallies perfectly with that evinced at the discovery of "the grotto."

We are aware that Dr. Breen has not looked at the letter in this light, if indeed he has regarded it at all. There is not even an allusion to it in his long dissertation, unless it be contained in the common remark that "Eusebius has no word of the finding of the Cross." [91] It is Eusebius who has preserved for us the letter. Although the Cross is not mentioned in it explicitly, the after-events show unmistakably that the interpretation assigned is the true one.

Constantine erected the Anastasis over the Sepulchre, and the Martyrium over "the place of the Passion." Both rites were embraced in that one sacred "Place" that had been cleared. No distinction between them was known when excavations were begun. But, as "the appearance [92] of the monument of the Resurrection" determined the site for the smaller church, so it was the finding of "the token of the Passion," the Invention of the Holy Cross, that determined the site of the larger.

It is obvious therefore that both Constantine and Eusebius supposed the scene of the Resurrection as definitely localized before any attempt was made to adorn it. It is also clear

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 465.

[92] This term is common to several of the writers.

that the ideas of the Finding of the Cross, of the true Sepuchre, and consequently of Calvary, were associated in their minds. For that reason we may treat of the three collectively in the remaining analysis.

The foregoing view is borne out by Socrates, Sozomen, and Paulinus. The first of these writers says:

> Helena, the Emperor's mother . . . came to Jerusalem and . . . began to inquire diligently about the monument of Christ from which, after His burial, He arose. It was a difficult enterprise, but, with the assistance of God, she eventually succeeded.
>
> The cause of the difficulty I shall briefly make known. Those who, after the death of Christ, accepted faith in Him, paid special honors at this monument. But those who abhorred the religion of Christ, endeavored utterly to destroy the remembrance of the place. They filled it with rubbish. They built a temple to Venus and set up an idol in it. This work, indeed, succeeded in bygone times. But when the mother of the Emperor became aware of it she had the idol demolished; and when the earth was dug up and the place was thoroughly cleansed, she found three crosses in the monument. There was also found with them the tablet on which Pilate pronounced Christ crucified, the king of the Jews.

The "monument" here spoken of, from which Christ is said to have risen, is evidently the Sepulchre. And the inaccuracy in the mind of Socrates that leads him to tell of the crosses having been found "*in* the monument" instead of *near* it, is in all likelihood due to his having written at least eighty years after the event.

The important data here contained are that Helena had begun inquiries about "the monument," and that she became aware of its location and of the infamous work of "those who abhorred the religion of Christ," before she gave orders that the place should be cleared. Evidently, her inquiries had met with the desired response. The subsequent discoveries served only to confirm it.

Here it is opportune to make a few observations on the dis-

covery of the crosses. This find has sometimes been ranked in the category of legends like the discovery of "the grotto," yet such treatment amounts to nothing short of an arbitrary corruption of historical sources. A remark of Robinson is significant: "There would seem to be hardly any fact of history better accredited than this alleged discovery of the true cross. . . It would seem to be as little reasonable to doubt the existence of the alleged true cross at that early period, as it would be to give credit to the legendary circumstances related of its discovery." [93]

In a word, the evidence is abundant: "All the historians of the following century relate the circumstances as with one voice . . . Cyril, who was bishop of Jerusalem from A. D. 348 onward, only some twenty years after the event . . . mentions expressly the finding of the cross . . . and its existence in his own day." [94]

The pilgrims of succeeding years venerated the true Cross as well as the Holy Sepuchre. There is no chance for evasion unless we poison all the histories of the epoch, and sceptically assert with Robinson himself that it was "a work of pious fraud."

Sozomen is more diffuse than his contemporary. Helena having come to Jerusalem, "for the sake of prayer and the investigation of its sacred places, . . . her every desire was turned toward the recovery of the wood of the adorable cross. But neither the finding of the wood nor that of the divine sepulchre was child's play."

The work of the Gentiles is described in order, and Sozomen rejoices that

> the place has been brought to light and their fraudulent purpose has been discovered, either by the aid of a certain Jew, as some assert, who dwells in the East, and who gained the knowledge from a writing belonging to his father, or, if one chooses to regard the matter with a greater semblance to truth, by divine in-

[93] *Ibid.*, p. 375.

[94] See references in note 8.

dications and dreams. For I do not think that divine things have need of human interposition once God has decreed to manifest them.

These last words are the key to the thought of the age. There are human agencies in holy works, but anything extraordinary had better be called divine. The human element may be profitably forgotten. Candidly, that is not the way of thinking nowadays. Although we do not disavow that Helena could have received Divine admonitions, we are very far from maintaining that one would be nearer the truth in claiming that her investigations were mere side-issues, coincident with a Divine manifestation. If Sozomen mentions only one Jew as having furnished the desired intelligence, Paulinus, with more regard for the human side of the matter, avers that a large body of Jewish and Christian savants had been consulted. Not one of this assembly could vouch for the wood of the Cross; yet, the author adds, "their advices were in agreement regarding the place of the Passion." What is this but an endorsement of the views expressed in connexion with Eusebius and Constantine? What is it but a less laconic description of what Severus relates? "Helena, after learning of the place of the Passion, orders the earth to be dug up."

The only perplexing voice is that of Alexander, and even he admits that the consultation took place. His mysticism, however, is more excessive than that of Sozomen. He writes:

> When the Bishop [Macarius] understood that the Empress was about to arrive, he went with the provincial bishops to meet her. Her first injunction was given at once, namely, that the bishops should devote their undivided attention to the discovery of the desired wood of the Cross. Since all hesitated, however, one surmising one thing and another another, Macarius ordered all to remain calm and to pray most fervently to God. This being done, the place was divinely revealed to the Bishop in which stood the image of the impurest of goddesses.

The material order is the same—consultation, indication; but the intermediary is a revelation. Why this discrepancy?

It must be remembered that Alexander, a monk and contemplative, does not profess to write history. His production is a long and studied eulogium on "the Finding of the Cross." That is enough to explain his ill-regulated mysticism. Yet, even though he figured as a historian, the other authors should be taken in preference in case of divergence; for they preceded Alexander by two centuries and in some instances were contemporary with Helena, if not eye-witnesses of the transactions.

The other feature of the story, in which all agree, is no less credible than the preceding. To us, the dream in which Helena was inspired to look for the true Cross is quite comprehensible. Was it not the Cross, through which success had been miraculously promised to her son? Was it not the Cross that became thereupon identified with the labarum? Was not the Cross a patriotic as well as a religious ensign? Did it not gain victories on the field, grace triumphal arches, crown the Capitol itself? It was a new standard, an unheard-of standard up to that time. Whence, then, came its sudden virtue? From a wooden Cross on which a God had died. What more natural than that a Christian woman, a saint, who shared in the glories of this standard with her son, should be prompted by a shadow to look for the reality, even in a dream. The student of psychology will not find the case a hard one.

We accept then the dream of Helena, though our theme is independent of it. It is of importance here to hold only to the historical fact that she investigated and learned on the spot the venerable place, and that this investigation was antecedent to the demolition and excavations she directed.

With a view to a clear understanding of the whole procedure, we submit the following arrangement of the facts:

1. Helena conceives the project of searching for the wood of the Cross.

2. The Empress requests the aid and patronage of Constantine.

3. The latter, rejoicing at the peace that reigns in Church and State, encourages the enterprise.

4. He intrusts the execution to the Jerusalem Bishop, Macarius.

5. He sends Helena, already endowed with imperial authority, with letters and money to Macarius.

6. The Empress and the bishop work conjointly.

7. They assemble the more competent among the inhabitants, together with certain foreigners, Jews as well as Christians.

8. The finding of the wood of the Cross is proposed.

9. No clue is obtainable.

10. Inquiries are next made about the place of the Passion and the Resurrection.

11. The enclosure containing the temple of Venus is indicated.

12. The temple is torn down.

13. A second order is issued that the ruins and the made earth beneath be cast at a distance from the place.

14. A grotto appears and, near it, are seen three crosses, an inscription like that ordered by Pilate, and a few scattered nails.

15. Erection of the Anastasis and Martyrium.

All the sources harmonize with this arrangement. All concur in the main points. Why then is a tradition so well established cast aside by some as valueless? Because, as one critic will tell us, it hinges entirely on the discovery of a grotto, and the grotto was made clandestinely by Macarius.[95] Because, says a second, there is no foundation in fact. The whole story was made up afterwards. A third will urge that Constantine might have destroyed any other temple at Jerusalem as well as this, or that the annihilation of paganism was the policy of the Empire. Another will insist on too much discrepancy in detail. Finally it is alleged that the admixture of dreams and divine communications is too great, and the arguments based on them must totter and fall.

The first two objections do not merit consideration. Their

[95] Taylor.

sole aim is to remove the ground from under our feet. They are without historical basis and are barely more than gratuitous accusations. They are statements not to be accepted without proof, for they imply principles that undermine the most fundamental rules of hermeneutics. There is unanimity among the earliest witnesses relative to the discovery of a tomb that contemporaries judged to be that of Christ. Now, in the preceding sections it has been shown that circumstances were favorable for the survival of such a remembrance. Consequently the fact recorded is in no wise absurd, and to repudiate it would be unfair and unjust.

The third objection is not to the point. It is not the policy of the Empire nor the destruction of a particular temple that counts, but the particular history, otherwise well authenticated, that centres about the destruction of the temple of Venus.

As for the discrepancies in detail, they furnish an argument *for* the genuineness of the tradition instead of *against* it. As is the case with the account of the Resurrection in the Gospel, then only would there be cause to suspect collusion, if all were in perfect unison.

The objection based on the dreams has already been disposed of. It amounts to this, that there is chaff mixed with the wheat, and it is not worth one's while to sift it.

In a general way, the facts related are scorned not on account of themselves but on account of the way they are told. If they were encased in dry, unpolished, arithmetical phraseology, they might (?) find more adherents. But once the supernatural order comes into play, they become suspected and practically devoid of soundness. Fortunately, we have enough data to constitute a connected line of human evidence, without being thrown back on presumedly unsuspicious interventions.

The way has now been paved for the third part of the problem.

THOMAS À K. REILLY, O. P.

Jerusalem, Palestine.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

AMERICAN BISHOPS AND DAILY COMMUNION.

THE Sovereign Pontiff, Pius X, is most anxious to render universally effective the Decree of 20 December, 1905, by which the practice of Daily Communion is recommended to all the faithful. In a recent letter which Cardinal Cretoni, as Prefect of the S. Congregation of Indulgences, addresses to the Ordinaries throughout the world, this desire of the Holy Father is expressed in a new form, which indicates that Pius X expects the bishops to take the initiative in this important movement for increasing devotion to the Blessed Eucharist, by setting the example in their own cathedral churches.

In order to make this object-lesson not only as solemn and as impressive as possible, but also practical and permanent, Pius X gives the details of the plan to be pursued. There is to be in every cathedral an annual triduum, from Friday to Sunday, during which time the faithful are to be instructed and urged, so that the entire congregation may be prepared, to receive Communion in a body on Sunday at the parochial Mass. It is hoped that they may thus be induced to continue the practice on other Sundays and feasts of the year. The time designated as most opportune and suggestive for this celebration is that of the three days following immediately upon the feast of Corpus Christi, which occurs on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. It is a time of the year when nature lends its charms to pious sentiment, as expressed in the rich floral decorations of our altars, in processions, and in the special exercises that connect the popular devotion to the Blessed Sacrament with that of the Sacred Heart. The feast of Corpus Christi itself, even where its liturgical celebration is transferred to the Sunday following, serves to concentrate the attention of the faithful on the special benefits derived from the worship and reception of the Eucharistic Manna, and a triduum following the feast of Corpus Christi gives a very suitable opportunity for stimulating the zeal of the faithful toward a more frequent approach to the Holy Table.

But in places where it is impossible or inconvenient to make this triduum an adjunct to the feast of Corpus Christi, the Ordinary may choose some other time of the year. The point on which the Holy Father appears to insist with particular emphasis is, that the devotions begin on Friday and lead up to Sunday. The obvious reason for this is to bring the people to Communion on Sunday, and to induce them thereto by a preparation made by the entire parish in common; a preparation which is not left to the private devotion of the individual, but which, by a series of public instructions and pious exercises, may open the minds of those who would not ordinarily be disposed to receive Communion on the Sunday in question. The first object, therefore, of the triduum is to create in the general body of the faithful the disposition to go to Holy Communion, and this not in a general and remote way, but *hic et nunc.*

It is indeed but once a year that this stimulus is given them by the proposed method; but since on this occasion the faithful are to be instructed in the proper dispositions for frequent Communion—it being made clear to them that they need not each time go to confession, unless they are conscious of grievous sin—scrupulosity and the natural shyness in approaching the Holy Table will thereby be removed and an intelligent view of the purpose of Communion, as the celestial food for our souls and the antidote against our spiritual ills, will be thus propagated. The entire congregation is therefore to be trained to participate in the Mass on Sundays by receiving Communion with the priest, as did the early Christians, even without the hitherto customary confession of merely venial sins.

For this reason the *first* part of the devotional exercises on Friday of the triduum is a *sermon* or an instruction on the Blessed Sacrament. The special scope of this sermon is mentioned in the document. It is to explain to the faithful the great fruits to be derived from the veneration and reception of the Holy Eucharist; and it is to make clear to them what dispositions are required for the worthy and frequent approach to the Holy Table. The last point is emphasized: it

is not necessary to be free from venial faults or the disposition toward sin, such as are part of our weak nature since the Fall. Those who have been guilty of mortal sin are to be induced to confess their sins, and then join the rest of the faithful in the general approach to Holy Communion during the Mass. This thought will be further brought home to the faithful by the succeeding exercises of the triduum.

The Blessed Sacrament is to be exposed immediately after the instruction, and then is to be recited a prayer which again expresses the primary purpose of the devotion. The prayer, translated, is as follows:

O most sweet Jesus, who didst come into this world in order to enrich every soul with Thy life-giving grace; and who, in order to preserve and nourish our souls, dost offer Thyself daily in the adorable Sacrament of the Altar as a health-giving remedy in our infirmities, and as a heavenly nourishment to uphold us in our weakness, we earnestly implore Thee graciously to infuse into our hearts Thy holy spirit, so that, filled with the same, the souls of those who perchance are held down by the guilt of mortal sin, may return and obtain anew the life of grace lost through their transgressions; whilst those who, through Thy boundless mercy have been enabled to remain faithful, may, according to the measure of their graces, approach Thy heavenly Banquet every day, so that they may find therein strength and a continual remedy against venial sin, and thus, by ever-increasing purity of heart, be enabled to nourish in themselves Thy grace, and so attain eternal happiness in heaven. Amen.[1]

The Instruction does not state whether this prayer is to be said in Latin or in the vernacular. Hence we assume that it may be recited in the vulgar tongue, as serving better to awaken that devotion and renewal of fervor manifestly intended. It is needless to demonstrate, though it may not be unprofitable to urge, the necessity of saying this prayer, which has a distinctively instructive purpose, in a loud and intelli-

[1] The Latin text of this prayer is given, together with Cardinal Cretoni's letter, in the "Analecta," p. 71, of this number.

gible tone of voice, so that all the congregation, for whom it is intended as an appeal as well as a prayer, may be moved by it. After the prayer the chanters sing the hymn *Tantum ergo*. Then follows Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament, in the customary manner.

The exercises are, as is seen, very short, and may each be brought within forty-five minutes or less. If the exercises of the triduum be set for a convenient hour, when the people are not generally engaged, practically the whole congregation could be induced to attend. Few there are in any community living moderately near the parish church—a condition we may generally assume in the case of the cathedral districts mentioned in the document—who would not spare three-quarters of an hour once a year on a Friday and a Saturday to attend these devotions. If the sermon on each of these two days be really good, that is, well-prepared and to the point, most people will do what the preacher urges, and they will also find a satisfaction therein which is likely to bring them more frequently to the church, where their best Friend dwells in the Tabernacle, awaiting, calling, and welcoming all.

The exercises of the third day, that is, Sunday, differ somewhat from the simple order observed on the two preceding days. At the parochial Masses the priest preaches on the Blessed Sacrament, encouraging the faithful to the fervent reception thereof. If the Sunday is that immediately following Corpus Christi, the Gospel of the day furnishes an excellent and suitable text; if the triduum be transferred to some other time, the homily of the respective Sunday may easily be adapted to the same central theme. The object of this homily, together with the instructions and devotions of the two preceding days, is, as was said, to bring the whole congregation to Holy Communion at the Mass.

The triduum extends to the afternoon or evening of Sunday. All the faithful attend, as on the previous two days, to hear a sermon. The topic is again the Blessed Sacrament, the special purpose being to get the faithful to continue their devotion to the Holy Eucharist, and to carry out the spirit of the

Church, as explained to them during these three days, by a more frequent, and if possible daily, approach to Holy Communion. Thus the influence of the Divine Presence continually in our churches will exercise its effect upon the daily lives of the faithful. After the sermon the above-mentioned prayer is recited, and then the *Te Deum* is chanted. The *Tantum ergo* and Benediction with the Most Blessed Sacrament conclude the public devotions for the day.

In order to lead the faithful to enter fully and with spirit into the exercises of the triduum, the Holy Father proclaims a *plenary indulgence* for all those who attend the exercises of the three days, and who, having confessed, receive Holy Communion within the triduum. A separate *plenary indulgence* is granted to *those who go in a body to Holy Communion on the Sunday.* Any person who attends the exercises of one or other of the three days, even without going to Holy Communion, may thereby gain an indulgence of seven years and as many quadragenes.

The idea which the Sovereign Pontiff urges is distinctly reiterated in the two plenary indulgences accorded separately to those who attend the exercises and receive Holy Communion, and to those who *receive Communion in a body on the Sunday.* It would appear that the latter concession is not restricted to the Sunday of the triduum, but that it likewise includes other Sundays, as spreading the effects of the devotion, and thereby making frequent Communion or daily Communion at the parish Mass a rule. Of this interpretation we should however need authoritative confirmation. Although the terms of the concession of the plenary indulgence require confession, it is not necessary that a special confession be made by those who are in the habit of approaching the tribunal of Penance regularly or weekly. For such their ordinary confession suffices, and they may gain all the indulgences during the interval between their regular confessions.

Whilst the Cardinal's letter is addressed to the bishops with a view to move them to take up energetically in their cathedrals the proposed revival of more frequent Communion, the Holy

Father recommends that the Ordinaries urge the same method, with prudent discretion, upon parish priests through whose activity similar results are likely to follow. The pastoral wisdom of our present Pontiff is particularly evident in this mode of recommending reforms of evils that strike at the root of Christian living. It is one thing to make laws and issue decrees: it is another thing to urge their observance; and still another to facilitate and direct that observance by selecting the elements and controlling the circumstances under which the results are most likely to be attained.

Difficulties.

To return to the subject of the triduum. The bishop or priest who would cite Cardinal Cretoni's letter which sets forth the Pope's wish and suggests the method of carrying it into effect, but who would not be willing to take account of the serious obstacles we meet in the actual circumstances of our mission life in America, might rightly be charged with that rash zeal whence flows more harm than good. We who are far away from Italy sometimes smart under the *literal* application of laws and decrees made for conditions which can hardly have been realized by those who propose them for the good of the community, and who rely on the discretion of the Ordinaries to adjust them to the circumstances of their dioceses without disregarding the purpose of the ordinance. In such cases the difficulty of obeying the letter is frequently turned into a pretext for ignoring the spirit and aim of the law.

Now the present is an instance of this sort. It is at first sight simply impossible in our American cathedral and parish churches to carry out the exercises of the triduum as outlined in Cardinal Cretoni's letter. These exercises require as their main climax that the entire congregation receive Communion with the celebrant of the parochial Mass. In the first place our cathedral parishes as well as the other principal parishes of our large cities are so organized that the churches can only accommodate the people of the parish in divisions, at separate Masses, on Sunday. The several Masses are conveniently

timed, and the term "parochial" applies to all in the same sense, namely, that they are regularly intended for a certain portion of the flock, which does not, or cannot conveniently, attend at a different hour. Here we have the principle of a difficulty which does not exist in Italy, France, Spain, or the southern countries, where the number of priests in proportion to the people is much larger than with us, and where the habits of the faithful are entirely different.

Let us take a moderate case in any one of our cathedral cities in America. The church edifice accommodates from 1000 to 1500 people. The congregation numbers from three thousand to five thousand people. There are five priests, who have five Masses every Sunday, say at 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10.30 o'clock. There may be a sixth Mass for the children, for which one of the priests has to duplicate. At each of these Masses a different body of the parishioners attends. Generally speaking, servants and housekeepers at the first two; tradesmen and mechanics, mothers and fathers of families, at the third and fourth; stragglers and people who keep late hours make up the bulk of the congregation at the late Mass. Excepting in the case of those who attend the service at 10.30, there is barely time enough for the parishioners to get into the church, hear Mass, and get out again, to give room to the next congregation. Low Mass, with the necessary and customary announcements, takes nearly an hour, and there is no time left before the next Mass begins, even for the ventilation of the church. To preach a sermon and to communicate the entire congregation attending each of these Masses within the hour is quite impossible; much less could they all be gathered at one service to the same end. Even assuming that two or three priests were to help the celebrant of the Mass to distribute Communion simultaneously, the time and space would hardly suffice, not to speak of the fatigue of the priests who would have to continue active during practically the entire time from 6 to 10 o'clock, each of them having the duty to say Mass, preach, and give Communion. Most of the priests have to say two Masses regularly every Sunday on account of the convents and asylums attached to the parishes.

Furthermore, these five priests would find their confessionals far busier places than heretofore, for until the custom of frequent or daily Communion should have taken full hold, the desire of being worthily prepared before receiving would force most people to seek the priest, from an habitual sense of duty. Since even now the confessionals of our city churches are often crowded until late in the night, the work would become excessively hard. In other words, our churches are not large enough, our priests are too few, and our civil habits are too systematic, to allow the method of general Communion on a Sunday morning to be carried into effect with the same facility as in Italian cathedral churches. For instance, the old Kingdom of Naples, which for size might be hidden away in one or other of our large dioceses, has one hundred episcopal sees. That is to say, a hundred cathedrals to our one; and the number of priests is proportionate, while the number of nominal Catholics who leave room in the parish church or leisure to their parish priest, except on the occasion of baptism, or marriage, or burial, is also greater than with us.

The thought of our Forty Hours' Devotion comes naturally to the mind as an answer to the above objection. We manage to get a large portion, if not all, of the parishioners to go to Communion at this time. But it must be remembered that they do not all receive Communion at the parochial Masses on Sunday. Many go before the early Masses; many more on the Monday and Tuesday mornings of the triduum, when there are Masses at 5 o'clock, or some convenient hour before the people go to work; and many others receive outside the Mass, since by doing so they do not forfeit the Indulgences.

If we have unreservedly stated the principal difficulty in the way of carrying out the wish of our Sovereign Pontiff, it was not for the purpose of overstating it, nor of lessening the sense of our obligation to carry out the spirit of the proposed method for attaining to a greater and more widespread devotion toward the Blessed Sacrament, the centre of all our worship and religious activity among the people.

As for the means to be taken to rally the faithful to a more

frequent or even daily reception of Holy Communion at the parochial Mass, in accordance with the Holy Father's wish, and despite the present order of things which renders it difficult, no better judges can be found than each bishop in his own diocese. The important point is that the answer to the call of our priestly Chief be taken up with thoughtful good will, so that that concerted action may be aroused whence enthusiasm and strength are communicated to the entire body, even if all cannot act with the same freedom and success.

In the meantime, we are sure the Eucharistic League will devise plans, as it has done before, to make possible the proposed triduums in our cathedrals, so that what the Holy Father desires, may be done not only in cathedrals and large parish churches, but everywhere.

THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS IN THE CHURCHES OF THE EAST (A. D. 138).

II.

IN the last number of the REVIEW, discussing the social position of the earliest members of the Roman Church, we said we thought that, though it could not be proved that the Roman Church at its first beginnings drew its members simultaneously from all classes, this could be proved to be generally true of the Churches of the East. We propose in the following pages to try and establish this conclusion and at the same time to bring out, as we hope we did for the Roman Church, the social position of the Eastern Christians during the first century of the Church's existence.

Our chief sources of evidence are the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of SS. Paul and Peter. Besides these we shall use the letters of St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Polycarp, the Apology of Aristides, the Athenian philosopher, and the well-known letter of Pliny the Younger to the Emperor Trajan.

As before we shall keep in mind the opinion of Celsus, which Gibbon seems to endorse, that the first Christians were

drawn almost exclusively from the rough and the ignorant, from women and children; also the opinion of Milman and Merivale, that the strength of early Christianity was the middle class; and the saying of Lightfoot, that Christianity worked its way upward from the ranks of slaves and freedmen.

Before beginning to deal with the evidence of the Acts, it will be well to point out that a very old tradition has it that Luke the writer of the Acts is Luke the doctor mentioned in the Epistle to the Colossians (4:14). He would seem to have been a native of Antioch.[1] Now in Asia medicine, as I think Professor Ramsay points out, was a liberal profession and not one practised by slaves as in Rome. The writer of Acts, addressing his work to a certain Theophilus calls him κράτιστε. This, it is agreed, was an epithet generally reserved for a man of position. Whether we can go further and, with one tradition, make him a provincial governor or, with another, a Roman Senator, is more doubtful.[2]

In the second chapter of the Acts (2:41) we read that in consequence of St. Peter's sermon, preached soon after the Holy Ghost had descended on the Apostles, 3,000 Jews and proselytes from all parts of the world, from the different countries of the East, from Rome, and even from Africa, were converted and baptized. Even if we set aside a certain proportion to allow for the natives of Palestine, and for the young Jews, students in what may be called the national colleges of Jerusalem, who may have been included among the new converts, we shall still have among the new Christians a certain number who had come from afar to Jerusalem for the feasts of the Pasch and Pentecost. Such men able to travel long distances to Jerusalem cannot, the majority of them, have been poor. Further, we are told that the new Christians of Jerusalem sold their κτήματα καὶ ὑπάρξεις, their real and personal property, and divided the proceeds among those in want (2:45). A fuller explanation is given later. "Nor was any one needy amongst them. For as many as were owners

[1] Eusebius, *H. E.*, 3, 4. [2] *Cf. Speaker's Commentary*, ad loc.

of land or houses, sold them, and brought the price of the things they sold, and laid it at the feet of the apostles" (4:34-35). St. Luke narrates this after telling how St. Peter, when he had cured the lame man who begged for alms by the "beautiful gate" of the temple, by his sermon converted five thousand to the new faith (3:2; 4:4). Special instances of this selling of property are given in the cases of Joseph, called Barnabas, a Cypriot and a Levite (4:36-37), and Annas and Saphira (5:1). We are not told, it is true, that the amount of land possessed in any one case was great; but the whole account of the first converts is quite sufficient to show that the first Jewish Christians were not almost exclusively drawn from the lowest classes, but included a fair proportion of men of means. Further on in the Acts, "the word of the Lord" is said to have "increased and the number of the disciples" to have "multiplied in Jerusalem" and to have become "exceedingly great" (6:7). There is no word here of the very poor or ignorant; if we are to argue from the analogy of the former 8,000 converts, we must conclude that these new disciples contained a fair proportion of men at least of some position. In the same place (6:7) it is said that "a great multitude of priests obeyed the faith," i. e. became Christians. Were these all drawn from the ranks of the uninstructed and ignorant?

After the martyrdom of St. Stephen there rose a great persecution in consequence of which the disciples scattered through Judea and Samaria and preached "the word," the Apostles alone remaining in Jerusalem (8:1, 4). Of these disciples Philip the deacon preached in the city of Samaria. His preaching was helped by his miracles and by his power over unclean spirits, so that "there was great joy in that city" (8:9). His success was great, for at least the *greater part* of the city believed. Among them was Simon Magus, neither poor nor ignorant (8:9, 12, 18). All, from high to low (8:10) had paid him honor, but now "believed Philip preaching of the Kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ, and they were baptized, both men and women" (8:12).

From this it is fair to draw the conclusion that in the city of Samaria there was a general movement toward Christianity, which included high and low, men and women. After his success in Samaria, Philip was directed by an angel to go southward to the desert road that led from Jerusalem to Gaza. Here he met on his return from adoring at Jerusalem an Ethiopian, "an eunuch of great authority under Candace, the queen of the Ethiopians, who ruled over all her treasure" (8:26-27). This man of power Philip baptized (8:38). Next we come to the conversion of St. Paul, who, as we learn from his own words, was "a Jew of Tarsus, in Cilicia, no mean city" (21:39), a pupil of Gamaliel (22:3), a Roman citizen, and son of a Roman citizen (22:27-28). This honor did not come to St. Paul merely from his birth at Tarsus, for it was not until later that Tarsus became a Roman colony,[3] but from its bestowal on his father or grandfather.

Professor Ramsay[4] points out that the Roman citizens in Eastern cities, which were not Roman colonies, were the local aristocracy of the place. The honor was generally conferred on individuals in return for some special service done to the Empire, but also, as befitting a great honor, only on those able to bear it in a worthy manner; if, as during Mark Antony's rule in Asia, it was sold for a price, the price demanded was a heavy one.[5] In either case the facts point to St. Paul's father or grandfather being a man of wealth and position. This conclusion from the St. Paul's *civitas* Mommsen, quoted by Ramsay,[6] styles as self-evident to Jurists. We may further conclude that St. Paul's father, as a man of wealth, and a native of a city distinguished for learning, would in addition to his specially Jewish education at Jerusalem, procure for his son a good Greek training at Tarsus.[7] As a result of St. Peter's miraculous cure of the paralytic Aeneas at Lydda, *all*

[3] *Speaker's Commentary*, Acts 9: 11.

[4] *Cf. St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 31–34; also *Expositor*, November, 1901, pp. 328–335.

[5] *Cf.* Acts 22: 28.

[6] *Expositor*, 1901, lc.

[7] Prof. Ramsay, *Expositor*, 1897, II. p. 55.

the inhabitants "were converted to the Lord," that is, became Christians.[8] Lightfoot[9] points out that Lydda was a great seat of Jewish learning with seventy schools. The inference is that a good proportion of these new Christians was well educated, as Jewish education went, and that, unless the whole city was in poverty, they included among them a fair number of men of means and standing. So far we seem to have a probable case at Jerusalem and certain cases at Samaria and Lydda of simultaneous conversion from all classes to Christianity.

From Lydda St. Peter passed on to Joppa, where he raised to life Tabitha, a widow known for her almsdeeds and therefore probably not of the very poor. The report of the miracle spread through the whole of Joppa and caused the conversion of many.[10] There is no evidence as to the position of "the many," but we are not thereby warranted in limiting them to the lowest classes.

From Joppa St. Peter was sent for by Cornelius. Going to Cæsarea he baptized him. Cornelius was a centurion of the Governor's bodyguard (10:1), a more honorable position than that of the ordinary legionary centurion, a man, moreover, able to make many alms (10:2), and to keep slaves (10:7).

The success of Christianity in Palestine by the year 60 is very plainly put by the presbyters to St. Paul on the occasion of his last visit to Jerusalem. They heard from him an account of his great success among the Gentiles and praised God for it. Then, wishing him to conciliate the Jewish Christians, among whom false reports about him had been spread, they gave as their reason the exceedingly great number of Jewish converts, who were also zealots for the law. The Greek has "you see, brother, how many tens of thousands there are believers among the Jews" (21:17-25). *A priori,* at any rate, whatever the exact number was, it is most probable that all classes were represented among them, an infer-

[8] Acts 9: 32–35. [9] Quoted in *Speaker's Commentary*, ad. loc.
[10] Acts 9: 40–42.

ence which is confirmed by what is said in the Acts about the earlier specific instances.

After telling the story of the conversion of Cornelius, St. Luke goes on to narrate how some of the disciples, Cypriots and natives of Cyrene, who before had preached to the Jews only, took courage to address themselves to the pagan Greeks of Antioch. "And the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believing was converted to the Lord" (11:21). Antioch at this time was the third city of the Roman Empire and famous for its beauty and wealth. When St. Luke says that "the hand of the Lord was with" the evangelists, "and a great number believing was converted," he would seem to imply that there was a great and perhaps unlooked-for success. This would, as it stands, mean that the converts were drawn from the wealthy and educated as well as from the poor. This inference is borne out by the following portion of the chapter. For, in anticipation of the famine prophesied by Azabus, "of the disciples [according to the Greek text] in proportion as any one was well off, each of them determined to send to the assistance of the brethren dwelling in Judea" (11:29). In plain English, all the rich men among the converts at Antioch decided to send alms to the brethren at Jerusalem in proportion to their means.

Among the prophets and teachers of the Church at Antioch were Barnabas, Simeon called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene and Manahen, the foster-brother of Herod the Tetrarch (13:1). Of Simeon and Lucius nothing seems to be known. Barnabas has already been mentioned as the Cypriot levite who sold his land to give the price of it to the Apostles. With regard to Manahen, whatever was the position of his family before, his having been the foster-brother of Herod Antipas, who was brought up at Rome, would, as we know from the writings of the time, have given him a position of great esteem and most probably secured for him a good education and position in the world.[11]

Following the order of the Acts, let us accompany St. Paul

[11] *Cf. Speaker's Commentary*, ad. loc.

on his missionary journeys and gather what we can about the social position of the converts he made. Leaving Antioch, accompanied by Barnabas and Mark, he went to Seleucia, and thence sailed for Cyprus. In time they came to Paphos, where Sergius Paulus, the Roman proconsul, a distinguished convert enough, was won to the Church (13:7-12). From Cyprus the missioners sailed to Perge and thence went on to Antioch in Pisidia. Here many of the Jews and proselytes were converted, together with "such of the Gentiles as were ordained to eternal life" (13:43-48). These converts from paganism would seem to have been numerous, for "the whole city almost came together to hear the word of God" (13:44); when St. Paul told the Jews that, as they had refused to listen to him, he would turn to the Gentiles, the latter "hearing it were glad and glorified the word of the Lord" (13:48). Moreover, "the word of the Lord was published throughout the whole country" (13:49). It is true, there is not a word here about the social position of the new converts; it is also clear that not all, if any, of the first ladies, and that none of the magistrates of the place, were converted, for "the Jews stirred up religious and honorable women [women of rank who were proselytes] and the chief men of the city" (13:50) to institute a persecution against St. Paul and Barnabas. Still there is no evidence that the great number converted were of the lowest class. The general terms in which St. Paul's success is told, would rather seem to show that his converts were drawn from almost all, if not all, classes.

From the Acts, too, we have no direct evidence for the social position of the first Christians of Iconium, the next city St. Paul visited. We know that it was an important and populous city and that of its inhabitants a great number of Jews and pagans believed (14:1). We learn also that the city was divided for and against the Apostle in the disturbance the Jews and their officers created against him. We know further that the officers of the Jewish synagogue were not among the converts (14:1-6). But again, in such a general movement, is it not more probable that the new Christians

were drawn from nearly every grade of society in Iconium than from the very poor or even the middle class? Perhaps some, though at the most very slight, confirmation of this view may be got from the story contained in the "Acta Pauli et Theclae." We give it for what it is worth, at least as an interesting story known to Tertullian. Thecla, who, according to the story, was converted by St. Paul, is described as the daughter of one of the noblest families of Iconium. She, in her turn, is represented as converting Tryphæna, the queen of Pontus. This name, it is interesting to note, is that of the queen of Pontus at the date supposed by the story.[12]

From Iconium St. Paul made his way back to Antioch, which he soon left for Jerusalem and the Council to be held there. Among those sent back with him to Antioch to explain the decrees of the Council was one of the chief brethren named Silas (15:27). Later on (16:37) we find that he was a Roman citizen. Unless he was a native of a Roman colony, we must, according to Mommsen,[13] assign to him a social position similar to that of St. Paul.

After staying some time at Antioch, the Apostle set out once more, and this time to Europe, making his first converts at Philippi. Among these converts was Lydia of Thyatica, a seller of purple (16:14), in truth not a very exalted position. But when we read that her household also was baptized, we may reasonably infer that the expression supposes slaves or servants. The fact too that she pressed her hospitality on St. Paul would seem to point to her having sufficient means to entertain him in a befitting manner.[14]

St. Paul in his letter to the Philippians, whom he calls "my joy and my crown" (4:1), reminds them how, once and twice before he left Macedonia, they had come to his assistance with alms (4:15), and had sent money after him when he had left for Corinth. There seems to be no further

[12] For a discussion of these *Acta* see Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire*, and Conybeare's *Monuments of Early Christianity; Révue Biblique*, 1904.

[13] Vide supra. [14] Acts 16: 15; *cf. Speaker's Commentary.*

evidence than these words of uncertain interpretation, as to the social position of the Christians of Philippi in St. Paul's time.

Something, however, may be gleaned from Polycarp's letter to the Philippians, written about the time of Ignatius's martyrdom. He begins one part of his letter abruptly with the words, "The love of money is the root of all evil;" in other places he warns both priests, widows, and people, not to be "lovers of money" (e. g., Chap. 4). Now a special exhortation against love of money is generally addressed to those that have money and may be avaricious for more, and not to those that have it not. Further on he bids priests "be compassionate toward all . . . not forgetting the widow, the orphan, the poor" (Chap. 38). These words imply, as they would in our day, that all were not of the poorest class.

From Philippi St. Paul proceeded to Thessalonica. Here we find that among a great number of Greek proselytes who believed, there were "of noble women not a few" who threw in their lot with Paul and Silas. In other words we are told that among the women converts were a fair proportion of the first ladies of the city. With regard to the male converts, of the great number who believed we know that when Jason, St. Paul's host, and some of the brethren were brought before the magistrates on a charge of harboring traitors, they were able to give securities for their good behavior and so to procure their release (14:9). Perhaps we may say, judging from this fact, from the general terms in which the greater part of the converts are mentioned, and from the special mention of the conversion of a fair number of the first ladies of the city, not many, if any, of men of high position were converted, but that otherwise the new Christians were fairly representative of the place.

In consequence of the disturbance created by the Jews, St. Paul and Silas were conducted by night to Berea, the Jews of which were εὐγενέστεροι (17:10-11). Does this mean that the Jews here were of a better class or merely of a more kindly disposition? It is not improbable that it means they were of

a better class, for the Jews of Thessalonica, to create a disturbance against the Apostle, gathered together "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort," as the Anglican authorized version has it (17:5), miserable and troublesome loafers in the market-place. May not this have been easily possible because many of the Jews of Thessalonica were not far above these "lewd" fellows in station? In Berea, on the other hand, the Jews "received the word with all eagerness" (17:11). That certainly is an evidence of better disposition, but also it would seem, of greater enlightenment and of less prejudice, facts which would point to better education and hence better social position. This is borne out by St. Luke, who says they examined the Scriptures every day to see if what St. Paul said was true (17:11). It is hard to imagine a body of men, the greater part belonging to the lowest class, doing this.

But whatever εὐγενέστεροι may mean, we learn that at Berea many of the Jews believed and "of honorable women that were Gentiles and of men not a few" (17:12). Here, if we wish to keep within the bounds of certainty, we must restrict the Greek converts of high degree to the women. An objection may be brought from St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians (8:2), to the effect that St. Paul describes the Christians of Macedonia as being in the depth of poverty; a similar objection may also be urged with regard to the Christians of Jerusalem, seeing that they are continually described as very poor (πτωχοί). The Apostle himself in the two letters to the Thessalonians supplies the answer, when he points out that their poverty, like that of their brethren at Jerusalem, was due to persecution.[15]

Among St. Paul's converts at Athens was Denis the Areopagite, a man therefore of high and honorable station. In later times, probably before the end of Hadrian's reign (A. D. 138), we find two philosophers of Athens converts to Christianity, Quadratus and Aristides, offering to the Emperor elaborate defences on behalf of Christianity. Aristides in his

[15] I Thess. 2:14; II, 1:4.

description of the Christians has these words: "They honor father and mother; they do good to those who are their neighbors, and when they are judges they judge uprightly . . . As for their servants or handmaids or their children, if any of them have any, they persuade them to become Christians, for the love they have toward them; when they have become so, they call them, without distinction, brethren; . . . he who has, gives to him who has not, without grudging; when one of their poor passes away from this world and any of them sees him, then he provides for his burial according to his ability."[16] This passage would seem to show that Christianity in the early years of the second century was found generally in all classes of society, among those who were served by slaves and those who were not, among those possessing greater or less means and those with hardly any at all.

Of the first converts at Corinth there are more details. To begin with, it would seem that many of St. Paul's converts were men of some position; for it is hard to imagine the envy of the Jews so excited as to cause them to bring St. Paul before the governor Gallio, if the new Christians were men of no account even though great in numbers.[17] Among the converts from among the Jews was Crispus, the "ruler of the synagogue," and his whole household (18:8). His office proclaims him a man of position and influence.[18] From the proselytes there was Justus, whose house St. Paul made his headquarters after he had broken with the Jews on their refusal to listen to him. We are told the house adjoined the synagogue (18:7). Of other converts mentioned by name, some at least seem men of standing. They are Erastus, the treasurer of the city,[19] Caius, St. Paul's host, and that of the whole church of Corinth at the time when the Apostle was writing to the Romans (16:23). When writing his first

[16] *Apology*, chap. 15. Edited and translated by Professor Rendel Harris; *Texts and Studies*, I, pp. 48–49.

[17] Acts 18: 12. [18] *Cf.* Ramsay, *Expositor*, 1895, I, pp. 272–292.

[19] Rom. 16: 23.

letter to the Corinthians, he makes special mention of Stephanus and his household as having given themselves up to serve the elect. His description of the disorders that took place at the agape (to take the common view of this passage), when they came together not to eat the Lord's supper, but to eat each his own, so that one was hungry, while another was drunk, and those that had not were put to shame [20]—seems to point to a distinction of classes existing among the new converts, which was observed even at the common love-feast. His warning to them not to engage in lawsuits (I Cor. 6:6) would likewise imply a section of men of some means, for the poor, having neither the means nor the property to make lawsuits possible or at least easily undertaken, are generally free from the inclination to engage in them (6:6). Again the Apostle reminds them (4:6-8) that he has clearly shown forth the position of himself and Apollo as mere stewards of the Lord and as the profitless servants of Him by whom all the good done by them was worked, in order that "their wisdom may not exceed that which was written, that they may not be puffed up one against the other" (4:6). For "who," he says, distinguisheth thee?" "What hast thou got that thou hast not received?" (4:7). In another place (2:6; 3:23) he warns them against refining on the Gospel by philosophical speculation.[21] His own teaching had been simple and informed with the wisdom of God, not of man (2:13). He had preached Christ crucified, a stumbling-block to the Jews, and folly to the heathen (1:23), "for it is written I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the prudence of the prudent I will reject" (1:9). Hence no one was to deceive himself: "If anyone among you thinks he is wise in the wisdom of this world, let him become a fool, so as to be wise" (3:18). These passages, which show among the Corinthians a propensity to philosophical speculation, and a readiness to overvalue it, if taken together with the questions and difficulties as to the nature of the resurrection of the

[20] I Cor. 11:20–22.

[21] *Cf.* Orr, *Neglected Factors in Early Church History*.

body forestalled at the end of the letter (15:35), point to the very probable conclusion that all the Corinthian Christians, or even a very great proportion of them, were not of the ignorant and uneducated class. In fact, the whole of the evidence for the beginnings of the Church of Corinth shows that it was composed of representatives of all classes. Against this inference are sure to be brought St. Paul's words: "For see your vocation, brethren, that there are not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble" (1:26), or if we translate the Greek more freely: "Consider those of you who have been called. There are not among you many who are rich in worldly wisdom, not many men of power, or of noble birth." If our contention was that all the Corinthian Christians were of good birth, rich, and men versed in philosophy, these words would certainly prove it to be untrue. On the other hand, they confirm the statement that representatives of all classes were found among them, in so far as this points to the presence of men of learning, wealth, and power. For, as Origen pointed out to Celsus,[22] in any community which includes members of all ranks of society, the poor and the unlearned are necessarily in a majority, the rich and learned in a minority. St. Paul's words, when read in the context, do not mean that the characteristic feature of early Christianity was that it was embraced only by the rude, the untutored, and the poor, but rather that, "as God is no respecter of persons," wisdom and position and honor were so far from being pre-required conditions for the receiving of Christianity that they were rather hindrances to its acceptance. "The Jews require signs; the Greeks seek after wisdom; we preach Christ crucified" (1:23). It was a preaching directed to the lowly as well as to the great, and by the lowly received in greatest numbers, both because they were the great majority and because in their lowliness they offered least resistance to the grace of God. The comprehensive character of early Christianity, at least in Western Asia and Eastern Europe, is shown forth by St. Paul himself when,

[22] *C. Celsum*, I, 27.

writing to the Romans of those who had been converted by him to Christianity, he acknowledges himself "a debtor to Greeks and barbarians, to the wise and the ignorant" (R. 1:4). That this comprehensiveness was found in the Church of Corinth is also shown in a faint but very real way by some words of St. Clement of Rome's letter to the Corinthians, written about A. D. 96. After, at the beginning of the letter, praising their generous hospitality as well known,[23] he later[24] bids "the rich man give to the needs of the poor," while the poor man is enjoined "to bless God that He has given to him by whom his wants may be supplied."

From Corinth we now follow St. Paul to Ephesus. There Apollo, later one of the teachers at Corinth, an Alexandrian Jew described as "an eloquent man, and one mighty in the Scriptures," was converted, in the absence of the Apostle, by Aquila and Priscilla,[25] Roman Jews who had accompanied St. Paul from Corinth. St. Paul made a very short stay at Ephesus on the occasion of his first visit, returning there only after he had visited Jerusalem, Antioch, and the disciples in the Phrygian-Galatian country (19:22-23). In Ephesus he now remained for two years. Toward the end of this time many of the new converts, moved by the startling failure of the sons of the Jewish high-priest to cast out a devil in the name of Christ, and by the devil's reply: "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are you?" came to St. Paul and accused themselves of practising magic. A goodly number of them, we are told, brought their magic books and burnt them in the sight of all. These books were reckoned to be worth fifty thousand pieces of silver (19:13-19). This is estimated by some as equivalent to $9,375, by others as equivalent to $35,000. This fact does not show universal poverty among the Ephesian Christians.

Further, the account of the riot (19:23-41) stirred up by Demetrius, the maker of small silver shrines of Artemis, would seem to prove that St. Paul had made converts among others than those of the lower classes. The trade of the silver-

[23] I Clem., 1. [24] *Ibid.*, Chap. 38. [25] Acts 18: 24-26.

image makers had been hard hit, and there was prospect of still greater loss if the Apostle was suffered to continue his preaching. One cannot imagine Gibbon's Christian community "almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace—of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars and slaves," thus affecting a skilled trade working in costly metal. The fair inference from this disturbance is that St. Paul in his two years' stay had won over a great number of people of means. This is more than confirmed by words used by the Apostle in his letters to Timothy and in that to the Ephesians themselves. He bids Timothy, in his first letter to him, warn those that are rich in this world's goods not to be haughty nor to place their hopes in unstable riches but in God (6:17). In his second letter to Timothy he prays the Lord "to give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus [who would seem recently to have died], because he hath often refreshed me and hath not been ashamed of my chain; but when he was come to Rome, he eagerly sought me and found me . . . and in how many things he ministered to me at Ephesus thou very well knowest" (1:16, 18). It is not likely that in this description of a friend who had travelled to Rome and who had been his greater helper at Ephesus, we have to do with a poor man or one only of low social position. St. Paul gives us only a clear picture of the station of one section of the Church at Ephesus, when in the former letter to Timothy he bids women array themselves "with modesty and sobriety, not with plaited hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly attire" (2:9). Again, when the Apostle, writing to the Ephesians (6:5), to the Colossians (3:25), to Titus (2:9-10), and in his first letter to Timothy (6:12), exhorts Christian slaves to be obedient to their masters as to Christ, and conversely Christian masters to be kind and indulgent to their slaves, we may rightly infer that the Christian communities at Ephesus, Colossæ, and in Cyprus were fairly representative of the places in which they were situated. As the same exhortation as well as that against loving riches is found in the Didache (Chapp. 4, 2, 3, 5, 13, 15),

now generally agreed to be a work of the first century and to have been written in Syria, we may draw another argument in support of the opinion advanced above as to the representative character of the Christian communities in that part of the world.

For the Church of Alexandria similar testimony is probably given by the Epistle of Barnabas. We read, "Obey your masters, as a type of God, with respect and reverence; do not order in anger your bondsman or your handmaid, who hope in the same God, lest they may not fear God who is over you both . . . " (Ch. 19.) And again "I make a request of the rich: 'If you take thought of a good purpose, you have with you those to whom you may do good. Do not fail.'" [26]

Among the Christian communities addressed by St. Ignatius of Antioch was that of Tralles, famous throughout the East for its wealth.[27] Although there is no reference in the letter to the social position of the Christians there at the beginning of the second century, is it too rash to argue from what had happened at Iconium, Antioch, Ephesus, Colossæ, and Cyprus, and to maintain that in Tralles too, not only the poor but the well-to-do had embraced Christianity in good numbers?[28]

The same Saint, when writing to the people at Smyrna, sends a special message to Alce and to the "incomparable Daphnos." [29] About Daphnos we know nothing. But from the account of the marytrdom of St. Polycarp we learn that Alce was sister of Herod, who was chief magistrate of Smyrna when Ignatius passed through, and aunt of the chief magistrate who arrested Polycarp.[30] In his letter

[26] Chap. 21. The words ἐρωτῶ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας are taken as above by Helgenfeld and Harnack. *Cf.* Helgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem Receptum*, ad. loc.

[27] *Cf.* Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, II, p. 144.

[28] The absence of references to any particular person is probably due to want of acquaintance. *Cf.* Lightfoot, *ibid.*, p. 147.

[29] Ep. ad Smyrna, 13.

[30] *Cf.* Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, II, p. 325.

to Polycarp (chap. 8), Ignatius sends greeting to the wife (or widow) of Epitropos, her household, and children. The mention of household distinct from children suggests a number of servants or slaves, and hence that she was a lady of some position. Lightfoot [31] considers that ἐπίτροπος here is not a proper name, but that ἐπίτροπος being the title given to the treasurer of the city we should translate "Greet the wife (or widow) of the (city) treasurer, her household, and children."

Before passing on to consider the non-Christian evidence for the Churches of the East, we should like to submit two other names found in St. Paul's letters as additional links in the chain of argument. In his letter to Titus (3:13) the Apostle bids him have special care for Zenas, the lawyer. Zenas is generally thought to have been a converted Jewish scribe. The other name is that of Philemon. The letter to Philemon seems to have been written with the object of inducing him to show kindness and to give legal freedom to Onesimus, his runaway slave, but at the time of writing a devout Christian and valued fellow laborer of St. Paul. Philemon's house is mentioned as the meeting-place of a congregation, and hence probably was not of the smallest and meanest. But more than this, the whole letter breathes a tone of consideration and respect such as would be used in addressing a man who was of high position as well as of high character.

And now we may leave aside for the moment our purely Christian sources of evidence. In a letter written A. D. 112, we find Pliny the Younger asking the Emperor Trajan what course he is to follow in dealing with the Christians of his province. In the past he had punished those who had been delated to him and had inflicted death on the obstinate. His measures had had some success, for at the time of writing "the temples which had almost been abandoned are being frequented again, the solemn rites for long in abeyance are coming back into use, and food for the sacrificial victims now

[31] *Ibid.*, II, p. 353.

again find buyers; up to this they have been very few." "The whole question," he wrote, "seems to me one on which I should consult you, especially because of the numbers who are in question. The fact is, many of every age, of every condition of life, of both sexes, are in danger and will be in danger of their lives. This plague of a superstition has overrun cities, villages, and countrysides."[32] This picture of Pliny's of the cities, villages, and country districts of Pontus and Bithynia filled with Christians of every state of life, of men besides women, to such an extent that the temples were deserted and pagan rites almost extinct, proves for Bithynia and Pontus the truth of the conclusion we should have been prone to draw from St. Peter's letter to the Christians who dwelt in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Asia when, like St. Paul to the Ephesians, he bade the wives, especially of unbelievers, not to take pains to beautify themselves in pagan fashion by braiding the hair, by the wearing of gold bracelets and necklaces and costly dress.[33] This explicit account of Pliny's of the number, position, and importance of the Christians of Bithynia and Pontus goes far to show the correctness of the inferences drawn from St. Luke's words in the Acts and those of St. Paul in his Letters, to the effect that Christian converts in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire were, generally speaking, drawn simultaneously from all ranks of society, and not first from the ranks of the lowly and ignorant and only afterwards from the better classes. The spread of Christianity among all classes which is revealed to us by Pliny's letter as existing in Bithynia and Pontus on a large scale in A. D. 112, would seem, according to the evidence afforded by the Acts and the Epistles, to have taken place on a smaller scale, though unequally in different places, on the first preaching of the Gospel in Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, and Macedonia. Certain exceptions, it is true, are made, as when it is implied that none of the "chief men" of Antioch in Pisidia[34] was converted, and that among the first Christians of Thessalonica not many men of high position were

[32] Pliny, Ep. 96. [33] I Peter 3: 3-4. [34] Acts 13: 50.

included, although, as might be expected from the "pius et devotus femineus sexus" there were "not a few" of their women folk (17:4). Our general statement, however, that Christianity in the East was from the first embraced and professed simultaneously by all classes, due regard being had to the relative proportions of the numbers of the respective classes, would still seem to be true. If this be so, Lightfoot's statement "that the majority of the first converts from heathendom were either slaves or freedmen, appears from their names,"[35] while not supported for the earliest Eastern Churches by the evidence available, gives a wrong impression of the facts, even where, through special circumstances, it might be true if taken in an absolute sense. His other statement that Christianity worked its way through the classes of society upward from below,[36] would seem not to be applicable to the East.

Dean Milman's opinion, too, that the strength of Christianity lay in the middle classes, would only be true for the East in the sense that the strength of every general movement lies in the middle classes.

In any case, Rome and the East at the end of the first century of the Church's existence agree in showing high and low, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, willing captives to her power and proofs of her divine credentials.

Some words of St. Justin, written about the middle of the second century, may fitly conclude this study. They not only confirm the position taken up above, but are interesting also for the standpoint they show him to have taken. "Not only," he writes, "have philosophers and men of culture believed in Christ; His teaching is also professed by artisans and quite common people, who for Him have despised honor, fear, and death itself. For He is the power of the ineffable Father, and not an invention of human wisdom."[37]

ALEXANDER KEOGH, S. J.

St. Beuno's College, North Wales.

[35] *Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul*, p. 165.

[36] *Clement of Rome*, I, p. 29.

[37] Apol., II, 10.

FATHER HUGHES'S HISTORY OF THE JESUITS IN NORTH AMERICA.[1]

A COMPLETE and accurate history of the Society of Jesus means nothing less than a trustworthy illustration of the vital principles by which the Church has been guided in her public activity during the past three centuries. There are many phases of ecclesiastical life in which the Society takes no part, but there is none in which the maxims embodied in its Constitutions would not be expressive of what is best in that life. Nearly all the Religious Institutes founded since the days of St. Augustine and St. Benedict have given evidence that they fulfilled a distinct purpose, marking some particular way of exemplifying Christian perfection; but no single Order seems to have absorbed to a like degree that spirit of universal Christlikeness which is the distinctive feature of the Church and the sure safeguard of orthodoxy in faith and moral discipline. Hence the Jesuit Order, as a body, has remained at the head of those intellectual, missionary, and economic forces by which the religion of Christ, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, is perpetuated.

The reason of this superiority is probably to be found, not so much in the remarkable personal holiness and intellectual foresight of the great founder of the Society of Jesus, as rather in the necessities and opportunities which shaped the divinely inspired design of the Order, so to speak, by a process of evolution. The Company of Jesus was organized to meet the needs of the modern age as they had been clearly indicated by the religious revolt of the sixteenth century. That revolution taught the necessity of reforms, but it also taught the religious tactics that would frustrate the designs of the self-constituted pseudo-reformers who appealed to the prejudices of the masses and to the protection of princes. St. Ignatius established it as a fundamental axiom that no man

[1] *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal.* By the Rev. Thomas Hughes, S.J. Text: Vol. I—From the First Colonization till 1645. Cleveland, Burrows Bros. Co.; London, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1907. Pp. 655.

could inaugurate a reform, or take efficient part in it, before he had earnestly set to work to reform himself. How to reform oneself, radically, fearlessly, continuously, according to the fixed standard of perfection indicated by the life and teaching of Christ—that was the problem the first framers of the Jesuit Constitutions set themselves to solve, when they projected the organization of a body-guard whose members would freely pledge themselves to sustain and defend, under all circumstances, the divinely approved *regimen militantis Ecclesiae.*

The Society thus spontaneously fashioned itself upon the model of the Church, as an army corps whose members were in constant training to counteract the intellectual, social, and political, no less than the religious, errors of the day, since these had combined into a multiple force entering in and pervading every sphere of public and domestic life. Like the Church, the Constitutions of the Company of Jesus were therefore designed to supply the means of its reform from within. Health, strength, exercise, power to endure hardships, knowledge of tactics, military obedience—these qualities of the individual would secure the strength of the whole body; but to preserve them for the individual the latter must ever remain in action, or at least in the constant expectation of being called into the field. Prolonged rest in the barracks after training would be fatal alike to the individual members and to the whole body of the Company. On the other hand, persecution, failure, suppression, were to be the essential preservatives of the system whereby the organism would be maintained in vigor. Thus we find in the history of the Society, as in its representative members, a repetition of the process that characterized the mission of Him in whose Name the Company of Jesus glories—a hidden and marvellous vitality which makes it appear continually transfigured and in a manner omnipresent, despite the fact that it is being continuously disfigured, and put out of the way, by the enemies of the Cross.

There are, as might be expected, histories, general and local, of the Society, by men who, in the spirit of Orlandini, Jou-

vency, Bartoli, gathered up the diaries of the older members, or who, like Crétineau-Joly, combined the records into a readable story, taking less account of dates and names than of the broad facts wrought through the agency of the Order. But with the growth of the Society its influence widened and deepened, so that the task of keeping and collating the annals of the more recent periods had to be consigned to men specially adapted for such work, who would at the same time take full account of the modern spirit of criticism in history. The late Superior General of the Order had, accordingly, projected a plan for a complete series of new histories of the Society. The plan was discussed at the General Council of the Order, and promptly taken in hand by the different Assistencies and their respective Provinces. The first instalment of this series to appear was that of the Spanish Assistency, by Father Antonio Astrain, published in 1902. It fitly begins with *San Ignacio de Loyola*, the life of the founder, and in a volume of nearly 800 pages covers the period from 1540 to 1555.

The apportioning of the work for the American Provinces would appear at first sight to have presented some practical difficulties, inasmuch as the early activity of the Jesuits in America is of a composite character, being represented by members of the Spanish, French, and English missions. The assignment, however, was happily made in a way which is likely to approve itself to the student of history. Father Thomas Hughes, well known to our readers as a cultured and careful writer, who to a critical and yet appreciative mind joins a talent for indefatigable research and scrupulous exactness in noting and recording results, was entrusted with the task of collecting, analyzing, and publishing that portion of the history which related to the Colonial and Federal districts of North America.

Even a cursory examination of the volume before us, as compared with other published histories which ostensibly cover the same field, gives evidence of the superior aptitude which the Jesuit training imparts for writing objectively and without unworthy partiality a history of one's own family. Father

Hughes, despite his retiring and gentle habits, is a soldier with all the qualities that give superior efficiency to members of his Company, whether they enter the field as teachers, or as missionaries, or as writers. They are accustomed to examine with care the ground on which the action is to take place; they know how to gather the material which enables them to sustain a given position; they foresee contingencies and calculate with the tactics of the enemy; and they merge their individuality in the common cause without regret or apology. Such is the training of the Society of Jesus, or, as we should rather call it, the Company of Jesus, for the spirit of the foundation is more that of the "cohortes Christi" than that of a mere union of minds toward the accomplishment of a common purpose. In this way our author is well equipped for the task of establishing the historical claims of Jesus Christ in the missionary field of North America—the vindication of which claims demands critical examination, industrious research, just discretion, and a bold loyalty that knows no personal or private interest in the pursuit of the principal end, the establishment and defense of truth.

To those who are tolerably familiar with the annals of the religious history of North America, the thought will probably occur that we are not without trustworthy sources whence a comprehensive narrative of the early missionary activity of the Jesuits may be drawn; and if Father Hughes thought well to avail himself of these, his work could hardly be so difficult or original as we have suggested. Independently of the well-sifted reports to be found in various State Historical Societies of the United States, we have the painstaking labors of John Gilmary Shea, and in particular the history of the Jesuits in North America during the seventeenth century by Francis Parkman, which not only covers ostensibly the same ground and period as Father Hughes's present volume, but does so in an exceptionally brilliant, not to say impartial way. A close comparison, however, will convince the student of history that here he finds a far truer account of the Jesuit missions in North America, and one quite different and more

clearly defined. Father Hughes has gone back in every instance to the original sources, verifying every doubtful statement, and he has completed the fragmentary references, quoted often inaccurately or ambiguously, of those writers who have touched the same topics without indication of context or source.

As regards Parkman's work, it is here to be noted that its comprehensive title is somewhat misleading. The clever New England author was a horticulturist by inclination and that tendency betrays itself in his History, which is indeed a flowery narrative concerned especially with choice beds of the labors of the Jesuits—that is, the French Jesuits who preached Christianity and taught civilization to the American natives during the seventeenth century. He takes no account of either the Spanish or English Jesuits, although they form so important a part of the story of Jesuit History in North America that Father Hughes finds sufficient material to devote his introductory volume almost entirely to the activity of the latter. He does not pretend to touch upon either the French or the Spanish missions, and simply takes up the data bearing on the labors of the English (British) Fathers of the Society, because they are the parent stock which furnished the transplanted shoots for a new growth in our Colonies and Federal States.

The latter fact accounts for the apparent digression into matters concerning England, a mode of procedure which was, however, dictated by sound canons of source writing. For it is to be remembered that we do not yet possess any history of the English Jesuit Province to which Father Hughes could properly go for the data of the development of the North American mission. He was, therefore, in the interest of intelligible historical completeness, obliged to choose such material from the accounts properly belonging to the English history of the Order as would permit of a reasonable survey of the mutual relations and of the connexion of cause and effect. Withal, he had to preserve the caution of the historian who builds on documentary evidence and may not pass over the ground by a mere summary of events to be taken on credit.

Of the immense labor this process of writing adopted by Father Hughes involved, we may form some estimate when we are confronted with the register of inedited sources he had to examine. These sources include not merely the archives of the Society, general and particular, wherever Jesuit houses had been established in Europe and America, counting also the annals of the Bollandists, but they extend to the great National and University archives in which State papers and correspondence bearing upon the subject of education and mission work among the Jesuits in North America might be found. Besides these there was a vast amount of published material in the different libraries and storehouses of historical records and codices, the notices concerning which cover nearly thirty pages of the author's Introduction. The bare listing of the printed works cited in the course of the narrative covers eleven pages of closely-printed titles.

The pieces and extracts gathered from the archives are being simultaneously published in a separate volume of *Documenta*, since their introduction in full in the history proper would prove a hindrance to the ordinary reader. On this subject our author says: "The requirement of modern studies calls for the fullest use of documents, as well as the presentation of all facilities for verifying evidence in its entire context. On this account we have found ourselves under the necessity of accompanying our text with documents and illustrations, such as demanded special attention, and yet could not find accommodation in footnotes or in an appendix of moderate proportions." The collection of documents is not confined to the historical monuments cited in the body of the text: there are others which supplement the principal evidence. The whole presents a sort of legal analysis of historical evidence which the author calls "Documentary Excursus."

There is one great help which Father Hughes found in consulting the documents, namely the intelligent foresight of former historians in the Order who facilitated the use of the originals by the careful references which they annoted. These suggest collateral sources of information, and often indicate

the purpose and history of the document in ways which the context might not otherwise make clear. This too is the result of the admirable training of the Society in which nothing is done superficially or left to accidental zeal. Thus he found this difference between the work of consulting documents in the archives of the Society and in public record offices, that the former placed the student at once in possession of such facts as: whence the records come; what is their degree of authenticity; what documents are wanting to their complete understanding; the cause of such defect, etc. This method of preserving documents would of itself suggest what Father Hughes explains at some length, namely the care which superiors of the Society have at all times inculcated regarding the noting and preserving of historical data upon which an authentic account of the doings of the Society may be based. He frequently finds "schedules for a history," that is to say, documents entitled: "Some heads on which information is to be sought, especially from the older members, for the purpose of writing the history of the Province." Kindred helps, both by way of suggestion and of warning, of inference and reaction, our author describes, with the analytical accuracy of the philosopher of history, as having been utilized by him in his study for the present work.

A word may here be said regarding the attitude which an author, however objectively he may write, is bound to assume in view of the particular disposition of his audience. Father Hughes is in some measure an apologist of a misstated case before a tolerably open-minded public. Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* affords him a specimen of the average temperament of the American student of history at the present day, before whom he lays his facts. Whilst our author is tolerably sure that his credentials will be accepted, he feels also that traditions are somewhat against him and that there is a certain amount of prejudice to be counteracted among those who are well-meaning. Thus, whilst the writer is objective in the presentation of facts, the method he pursues in setting forth the principles of growth,

preservation, and efficiency of the Society of Jesus is essentially his own. At the same time it is perfectly adapted for placing the facts in their true and intelligible light before the American reader, whether he be Catholic or non-Catholic, provided he is a fair-minded student of history.

In taking up the *History* proper the author begins with the antecedents of the Maryland Mission from 1580 and carries the story down to 1645. As we stated above, this portion of the narrative is chiefly concerned with the doings of members of the English Province of the Society, although it belongs to a field far removed from the home of that community. To the American reader the labors of Father White and his company among the early settlers who gathered around St. Mary's Mission, and who thence traced the ways of the Gospel among the scattered aborigines, make most interesting reading, for we not only dwell in the land where these English Jesuits labored, but we are reaping the fruits of their devout and self-sacrificing industry in the thousand benefits of our new Christian civilization.

As we follow the author through the leading chapters of the narrative describing the details of the founding of the Maryland Mission in 1633, the relation of Lord Baltimore to the clergy, which so decidedly affected the progress and subsequent fate of the missions and the actual development of religious education in Colonial times, down to the period when Fathers Andrew White and Copley (Philip Fisher) were forcibly shipped back to England, we are presented with a most interesting series of studies of men and things. In the midst of all, the figures of Father Andrew White and Lord Baltimore naturally stand in the forefront, although we get good pictures of bishop and monk, friar and secular priest, Catholic layman and Protestant Puritan, Huguenot, and Anglican. We learn innumerable authentic details of the relations of the Religious Orders—Jesuits, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites, and Capuchins — as well as about the Catholic Merchant Companies, and the Indian tribes. The various documents throw light upon the same facts from dif-

ferent points of view, for we have not only the correspondence of the Jesuit Fathers, but also the letters of the Propaganda, of legislators, and landowners whose interests are involved in the conversion of the natives. The policy of the English statesmen and their attitude toward the different representatives of the Catholic religion, together with the interludes that cause disagreement between the latter, to the loss of common strength, are useful items of information to the student of religion and philosophy no less than to the historian.

A study of the work in its entirety makes us familiar with the inner workings of the first attempts to evangelize the North Eastern Colonies and States, in a way that no history purposing to cover the same ground has hitherto approached. Neither Shea nor Parkman can bear comparison, even remotely, with our historian as an authority either in the statements he supports by documentary evidence or in the logic that deduces therefrom undeniable conclusions. Many hitherto credited witnesses such as John L. Bozman, in his *History of Maryland,* J. V. McMahon, on the *Government of Maryland*, and General Johnson's comment on the *Religious Act of 1649*, are shown to have been misled into error concerning the transactions reported in the Maryland annals. Writers on the Constitution and Laws of England, such as Henry Hallam, Blackstone, and Wheaton (*History of the Law of Nations in Europe and America*), are convicted of faulty conclusions, whilst the narrow bigotry of *Religion under the Barons of Baltimore,* by Smith, and of other writings of the same ilk, is relentlessly laid bare.

The work is most creditable as the first thorough application of the critical method in the field of our national religious historiography. The forthcoming volume of *Documenta* promises an equally original treat. We are to have first of all a complete collection of the letters of the Generals of the Order bearing on the American missions. Then will follow the controversial correspondence between the second Lord Baltimore and the Jesuit Fathers. A second part of the volume is to be given over to documents illustrating the administrative

character of the Society under the Maryland Constitution—grants, deeds, bequests, foundations of colleges, concordats. Under the head of endowments of religion we are to have the documents that establish the conditions at the beginnings of our educational and charitable institutions of the various Orders, the provisions for secular priests living in community, such as the Sulpicians, seminarians, and the like.

Equally excellent is the letterpress of the volume, its paragraphing and notes, the reproduction in facsimile it gives of original documents, and the charts which comprise the North-eastern States and Colonies, and the Lesser Antilles, mentioned in the *Relatio Itineris* by Father White, as well as a map of the original grants in and around old St. Mary's city.

H. J. HEUSER.

Overbrook Seminary.

Analecta.

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM.

I.

LITTERAE S. C. INDULG. DE TRIDUANIS SUPPLICATIONIBUS QUOTANNIS CELEBRANDIS IN HONOREM AUGUSTISSIMI EUCHARISTIAE SACRAMENTI.

R.me Domine, Decretum de quotidiana SS.mae Eucharistiae sumptione a S. Congr. Concilii, anno 1905 sub die 20 Decembris evulgatum, quanto piorum fidelium plausu et quam ingenti animi gaudio sit exceptum, apprime testantur epistolae quamplurimae, quae ad hanc Apostolicam Sedem undique sunt delatae, ex quibus eruitur in pluribus locis hanc piam et saluberrimam praxim quotidianae Communionis suscipiendae uberes fructus edere coepisse, et in posterum uberiores quoque in christiano populo fore edituram. Et merito: siquidem refrigescente hominum pietate, procul dubio remedium nullum aliud efficacius excogitari potest, quo elanguentia christianorum corda ad Deum redamandum vividius excitentur, quam frequens et quotidianus ad sacram Synaxim accessus, in qua Ille sumitur, qui fons est ardentissimae charitatis.

Quapropter Summus Pontifex, qui valde gavisus est de huiusmodi salutari fructu huc usque percepto, vehementer exoptans, ut ipse iugiter perseveret, imo maiora in dies incrementa suscipiat, mihi munus demandavit Amplitudinem tuam et totius Orbis Catholici sacrorum Antistites hortandi, ut coeptis insistentes omnem impendant operam, quo Christifideles frequentius, imo quotidie, sacram Eucharistiam sumant; hoc enim divino Convivio supernaturalis eorumdem vita indesinenter alitur et efflorescit.

Ipse vero Beatissimus Pater ratus ad hunc optatum finem assequendum admodum conferre, si christiani populi assiduis precibus una simul effusis dulcissimam Deo vim inferant; in votis habet, ut quotannis, si fieri poterit, in singulis Cathedralibus Ecclesiis, infra Octavam solemnitatis Corporis Christi, vel si locorum et personarum adiuncta aliter expostulaverint, alio anni tempore a R.mis Episcopis statuendo triduanae Supplicationes celebrentur iuxta methodum heic subiectam:

I. Supplicationes semper peragantur feria VI, sabbato et die dominica vel immediate post solemnia Corporis Christi, vel alio tempore, uti supra relatum est. Hisce vero singulis diebus sermo habebitur, quo populus edoceatur de ineffabili Eucharistiae Sacramenti praestantia, et potissimum de animi dispositionibus ad illud rite suscipiendum.

Hoc expleto, publicae venerationi exponatur SS.ma Eucharistia, eaque coram sequens recitabitur oratio:

" O dulcissime Iesu, qui in hunc mundum venisti, ut omnes animas vita ditares gratiae tuae, ad quam in illis servandam simulque fovendam in augustissimo Eucharistiae Sacramento salutare pharmacum earum infirmitatibus sanandis, et cibum divinum debilitati sustinendae temetipsum quotidie praebes, Te supplices deprecamur, ut super eas sanctum tuum spiritum benignus effundas, quo repletae, lethali labe si quae sint inquinatae, ad Te revertentes, vitam gratiae peccatis deperditam recuperent; quae vero, Te misericorditer largiente, iam Tibi adhaerent, quotidie, prout cuique dabitur, ad tuam caelestem Dapem devote accedant, qua roboratae, venialium culparum a se quotidie admissarum antidotum sibi comparare,

vitamque gratiae tuae alere valeant, sicque magis magisque emundatae, sempiternam in coelis beatitudinem consequantur. Amen."

Dein vero, post cantum hymni "Tantum ergo" populo Benedictio SS.mi Sacramenti elargiatur.

II. Die vero Dominica, quae postrema erit earundem supplicationum, mane, more sueto, missa parochialis celebrabitur, in qua habita a Parocho Homilia de Evangelio Dominicae infra octavam solemnitatis Corporis Christi, quod optime consonat mysterio Eucharistiae explanando, Christifideles coniunctim de altari sancta libabunt; sin autem alia eligatur Dominica extra praefatam octavam, loco Homiliae in Evangelium diei, concio fiat ad populum, qua ferventius ad Eucharistiam in ipsa Missa suscipiendam disponatur.

A meridie eaedem sacrae functiones iterentur, quae anteactis diebus sunt peractae. In concione tamen Oratores ad ferventiorem erga sanctissimum Sacramentum pietatem hortentur fideles, speciatim vero ad frequentiorem caelestis Convivii participationem, iuxta probatam Catechismi romani doctrinam, uti innuit S. Congregationis Concilii memoratum Decretum, sub num. VI. Tandem antequam hymnus "Tantum ergo" decantetur, hymnus Ambrosianus praemittatur.

Quo vero omnibus magis innotescat quam ardens sit desiderium Summi Pontificis frequentioris communionis promovendae, maximopere Ipse commendat, ut in curialibus etiam templis, prout quisque Episcopus pro sua prudentia et sagacitate diiudicabit, saltem locum habeat ea pia exercitatio, quae in Cathedralibus Ecclesiis celebranda superius est proposita die Dominica infra eamdem solemnitatis Corporis Domini octavam, vel alia in anno Dominica.

Hisce autem piis exercitationibus, ut alacrius intersint fideles, SS.mus Dominus Noster Indulgentias defunctis quoque applicabiles clementer elargitus est uti infra: nempe 1° *septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum* quolibet Triduanarum precum die; 2° *plenariam* semel in Triduo lucrandam, die cuiuslibet arbitrio eligenda infra ipsum Triduum, si eidem qualibet die devote adfuerint, simulque sacramentali confessione expiati, s. Synaxim susceperint et ad mentem Sancti-

tatis Suae pie oraverint; 3° *plenariam* die Dominica ab omnibus acquirendam, qui confessi ad sacras Epulas simul congregati accesserint in Cathedralibus Ecclesiis, vel etiam in Curialibus et uti supra preces effuderint.

Interim Amplitudini Tuae omnia felicia a Domino adprecor.

Romae, ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, die 10 Aprilis anno 1907.

Amplitudinis Tuae, uti Frater

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. * S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

II.

INDULG. PLEN. TOTIES QUOTIES LUCRANDA CONCEDITUR VISITANTIBUS ECCLESIAS ORD. S. BENEDICTI IN DIE COMMEMORATIONIS OMNIUM FIDELIUM DEFUNCTORUM; NECNON VISITANTIBUS QUAMLIBET ECCLESIAM, DUMMODO HABITUALITER GESTENT NUMISMA IUBILARE S. BENED.

Beatissime Pater, Hildebrandus de Hemptinne, Abbas Primas O. S. B., et Bonifacius M. Krug, Abbas Ordinarius Montis Cassini, ad pedes S. V. provoluti, sequentia exponunt et postulant:

Summorum Romanorum Pontificum largitate nonnulli Religiosorum Ordines Indulgentia Plenaria, toties quoties a christifidelibus ipsorum Ecclesias statutis diebus visitantibus lucranda, aucti sunt.

Quare oratores a benignitate S. V. expostulare audent, ut etiam Ordini S. Patriarchae Benedicti, utpote inter Ordines occidentales antiquissimo et de Ecclesia civilique societate non parum merito, simile privilegium tribuere dignetur; ita quidem, ut huiusmodi Indulgentia Plenaria, animabus in Purgatorio detentis etiam applicabilis, a secundis Vesperis diei primae Novembris usque ad occasum solis diei sequentis, in qua Commemoratio Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum pie recolitur, quotannis a christifidelibus toties acquiri valeat, quoties ipsi visitaverint Ecclesias vel publica Oratoria Ordinis S. Benedicti nigri coloris, tam Monachorum, quam Sanctimonialium, si confessi ac S. Synaxi refecti ad mentem S. V. preces effuderint.

Quae scilicet dies prae caeteris eligenda videtur:

1º Eo quod ex sedula opera S. Odilonis, Abbatis Cluniacensis Ord. S. Benedicti, Commemoratio Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum pro universa Ecclesia stabilienda initium duxerit;

2º Quia fideles die praefata frequentiores celebrare solent Ecclesias et inibi Sacramenta suscipere ad sublevandas animas piacularibus flammis addictas.

Insuper expostulant oratores Indultum, quo christifideles S. Numisma Iubilare S. Benedicti habitualiter gestantes, loco Indulgentiae de Portiuncula nuncupatae, quae ex authenticis documentis huic Numismati adnexa bona fide existimabatur,[1] deinceps hanc alteram supramemorata die concessam acquirere valeant, visitantes quamcumque Ecclesiam vel publicum Sacellum, caeteraque pia opera, de quibus supra, praestantes, si valetudinis causa vel impedimento clausurae aut nimiae distantiae—scilicet unius saltem milliarii—Ecclesiam aut Oratorium Ordinis S. Benedicti adire nequiverint.

SS.mus D.nus N.r Pius PP. X, in Audientia habita die 27 Februarii 1907 ab infrascripto Card. Praef. S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, benigne annuit pro gratia in omnibus iuxta preces.

Praesenti in perpetuum valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria eiusdem S. C. die 27 Februarii 1907.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. * S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius.

[1] "Documenta authentica" quibus Indulgentia de Portiuncula nuncupata Numismati Iubilari S. Benedicti annexa "bona fide" existimabatur, sunt haec:

Die 2 Iulii 1877 Pius PP. IX f. r., rescripto S. Congregationis indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, Indulgentiam vulgo "Portiuncula" dictam Basilicae Archicoenobii Montiscassini in perpetuum concessit;

Die porro 31 Augusti eiusdem anni 1877, idem Summus Pontifex "in pignus specialis dilectionis erga praedictum Archicoenobium" Numismati S. Benedicti, ob centenaria eiusdem Patriarchae nativitatis festa Archiabbatis Montiscassini cura excusso, "praeter Indulgentias eidem Numismati a Sancta Sede iam impertitas, omnes et singulas tam plenarias quam partiales Indulgentias . . . Basilicam Cathedralem Ecclesiam et Cryptam ac Turrim S. Benedicti visitantibus . . . concessas" per Breve Apostolicum in perpetuum tribuit.

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDICIS.

VARIA DAMNANTUR OPERA.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa X, Sanctaque Sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae, eorumdemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano, die 12 Aprilis 1907, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, vel alias damnata atque proscripta in Indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur opera:

Mgr LÉOPOLD GOURSAT, *Les Mystères sataniques de Lourdes à travers les âges.* Paris 1905.

JUOZUPAS AMBRAZIEJUS, *Trumpas Rymo-Kataliku Katekizmas.* Vilnius 1906 (Catechismo in lingua lituana).

L'Abbé G.-J.-E. COMBE, *Le Secret de Mélanie, Bergère de la Salette, et la Crise actuelle.* Roma 1906.

JOSÉ DOMINGO M. CORBATÓ, *El inmaculado San José. Apuntes vindicativos de su concepción purísima, su honor de esposo, sus derechos de padre, su primacía restauradora.* Artículos publicados en *La Señal de la Victoria.* Valencia 1907. *Decr. S. Off. fer. IV, Febr. 1907.*

Itaque nemo cuiuscumque gradus et conditionis praedicta opera damnata atque proscripta, quocumque loco et quocumque idiomate, aut in posterum edere, aut edita legere vel retinere audeat, sub poenis in Indice librorum vetitorum indictis.

Quibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X per me infrascriptum Secretarium relatis, Sanctitas Sua Decretum probavit, et promulgari praecepit. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae, die 12 Aprilis 1907.

ANDREAS Card. STEINHUBER, *Praef.*

L. * S.

FR. THOMAS ESSER, Ord. Praed., *Secret.*

Die 15 Aprilis 1907 ego infrascriptus Mag. Cursorum testor supradictum Decretum affixum et publicatum fuisse in Urbe.

HENRICUS BENAGLIA, *Mag. Curs.*

Studies and Conferences.

OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman Documents for the month are:

S. Congregation of Indulgences:

1. Addresses a letter to all the Ordinaries throughout the world, announcing the Holy Father's wish that an annual Triduum be held on the Friday, Saturday, and Sunday immediately following the feast of Corpus Christi, in honor of the Blessed Sacrament. (This letter is the subject of a separate paper in the present number, pp. 34-42.)

2. A plenary indulgence, *toties quoties*, applicable to the holy souls, may be gained under the usual conditions by all who make a visit to a Benedictine church on All Souls' Day; also by those who, if reasonably prevented from visiting a church of the Benedictine Fathers, choose any other church, provided they carry regularly about their persons the Jubilee Medal of St. Benedict.

S. Congregation of the Index, by a decree of 12 April, condemns books by the following authors: Mgr. Goursat; Juozupas Ambraziejus; l'abbé Combe; José Domingo M. Corbató.

A PROPOSED METHOD OF COLLECTING FUNDS FOR MISSIONARY PURPOSES.

(*Communicated.*)

An objection that we meet with on the part of bishops and priests to the gathering of funds in their dioceses or parishes, for outside interests, is based on the fact that so many appeals for aid are constantly ringing in the people's ears that they grow tired of giving. There is much, very much truth in this objection. No matter how generous and well-disposed they may be and how broad and Catholic in their views, prelates and priests

feel that the line must be drawn somewhere, and they naturally hesitate when asked to impose fresh burdens upon the people. Yet, what are we to do? There are certain necessities that must be met. If the religion of Jesus Christ is the true religion, it is our duty to spread it. We cannot afford to fold our arms, and let the world take care of itself. The command, "Going, teach all nations," falls still with terrible weight upon us. If we content ourselves with keeping what we have, and limiting our activity to the sheep of the fold, Catholicity threatens to become stagnant. Thus we find ourselves in a dilemma. We must either assist in gathering the men and the means, or we must give up our share in the great work of evangelizing the world.

Alas! that world needs evangelizing badly. Begin with the *partes infidelium*, and the great non-Christian world. About one-third of the human race bears the name of Christian. Probably the half of these are Catholics, such as they are; the other half is divided among the numerous sects, Eastern and Western. Thus, two-thirds of the human race are non-Christian, including the few million Jews who, small numerically, are great as a power in the financial, commercial, journalistic, and even political spheres.

In Asia and in Eastern Europe the great Buddhist and Mohammedan worlds have hardly been touched. In China, Japan, Persia, Tibet, India, and adjacent countries, Christianity is scarcely what it was in its early ages in the Roman Empire. In Syria, Asia Minor, and Turkey-in-Europe, Christianity is thankful that it is still alive. Darkest Africa is still practically a virgin field for missionary activity. Here in America, where missionaries have been laboring for four hundred years, pagans are still practising their superstitious rites in the forests on the Amazon and the Orinoco, and you will find them scattered throughout the Western Continent. Since the early Greenland missions came to an end, the Arctic circle has been unexplored by Catholic missionaries, with the exception of small territories in Labrador and Alaska. In the United States we have no fewer than 100,000 pagan Indians, some of whom are living in the State of New York. Thus we are appalled when we see the gigantic work lying before us in the great non-Catholic world.

To limit ourselves to our own country. We have a total population of 80,000,000 souls, with a round number of 65,000,-

000 who are non-Catholics of all shades of opinion. We have nearly 15,000 priests, who have all they can do to attend to the Catholics. Indeed the harvest is great and the laborers are few. Men are needed, and money is needed, for this work. To obtain the men, we have a number of ecclesiastical institutions, mostly, however, occupied with educating ecclesiastics for the home missions and the parochial ministry. To raise the money for objects outside the parochial limits, a few societies exist, such as the Propagation of the Faith, the Church Extension Society, the Missionary Union, the Holy Childhood, the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian Children, and the Society for the Negroes, besides various charitable organizations of a more or less local character. These are all appealing to the Catholic American people, dividing their attention and interests, and competing one with another.

The Catholic who from the first day of January to the last day of December is receiving tickets for fairs, bazaars, entertainments, concerts, euchres, and so forth, from his own parish and from all the parishes in the town, and who, besides, receives circulars from various missionary and charitable organizations throughout the Union and outside it too, is literally distracted. He may refuse two-thirds of the appeals, and he may give only a small sum to each of the others, yet in his imagination he beholds the multitudinous interests that are besieging him, and it appears to him that he is giving much, though were he to count up his donations at the end of the year, the sum might not be so great after all. Thus the difficulty presents itself in the objection so often heard, "There are too many appeals made to the people."

But, again I ask, what are we to do? We must have money, or we must let some of the most important works drop, from the support of the Holy See down to the baptizing of the black babies on Lake Tanganyka. If the Lord so willed, He might let gold and silver rain from the skies; but as this is not His way of acting on ordinary occasions, we must stir ourselves to find the means by which God's work may be accomplished.

Might not the difficulty be met by concerted action and perfect organization? Let me suppose that those at the head of the various societies for the collecting of funds should come together and agree to surrender the gathering of moneys into the

hands of one single society, to be called, for instance, "The Catholic Church Missionary Society," retaining for themselves merely the office of distributing the funds collected. Let it be supposed further, that, with the general approbation and co-operation of the hierarchy, this society should be established in every parish in the land by the parish priest himself. The society could be thoroughly organized, with general and departmental officers, committees of distribution, and so forth, all under the supervision of the bishops. I think this would greatly simplify matters.

What would be the results? Let us take it for granted that there are 15,000,000 Catholics in our country. This figure would give us about 3,000,000 families. Put down the average contribution of each family to the society at $5.00 a year, little more than forty cents a month, and the sum total would amount to $15,000,000 per annum. Surely all the societies now at work fall far below that sum. There are not fifteen of them, and, consequently, each one might hope to receive more than $1,000,000 annually. The members of the Society would have the satisfaction of knowing that they are contributing toward the propagation of the faith all over the world, nor would their attention be divided among a host of diverse interests, from the building of foreign cathedrals to the erection of chapels in Arizona. The membership of the society would be so widespread that every practical Catholic would be ashamed not to belong to it.

The work of the pastor in each parish might be lightened by the appointment there of a branch of the society, with regularly constituted officers. This would require no more labor than that of directing a sodality. Returns might be made to a diocesan board, and thence to the central bureau of the society.

CHARLES WARREN CURRIER.

UNIFORMITY IN DEVOTIONS ESPECIALLY AUTHORIZED.

Qu. Is there any authority for the introduction of the invocation "Mother of Good Counsel" in the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary?

AUSTIN.

What authority is there for priests, in celebrating low Mass, to add the invocation "Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on

us"? I am told that the decree sanctioning this petition appeared in the REVIEW, though I do not remember seeing it. But if it was published, should we not wait for the bishop to indicate that we are to introduce it? I see no good in one pastor doing what his neighbor does not think fit to do—I mean, of course, in matters which concern the liturgy at which the people are bound to assist and where it is not a question of mere optional devotion or personal piety of the priest.

CONTURBATUS.

Resp. The invocation "Mother of Good Counsel" has been added to the authentic version of the Litany of the B. V. M. by decree of S. C. Rites, 22 April, 1903.[1] Hence prayer books and devotional manuals, sanctioned by the Ordinary, should contain it. A similar addition was ordered for the Litany of the Holy Name, in which the words "Through Thy institution of the Most Holy Eucharist" are to be inserted after the petition: "Through Thy Ascension: Jesus, deliver us."

As to the addition of the invocation to the Sacred Heart, we have already explained that it has the explicit authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, who seems to desire that it be introduced, yet also wishes that a certain conformity be observed throughout each diocese, and that priests be exhorted to introduce the prayer.[2]

THE LACK OF UNIFORMITY IN DIOCESAN OBSERVANCES.

Some of the ordinances and many of the directions and counsels of the highest authority in the Catholic Church have remained a dead letter in communities where only the earnest initiative of the bishop or pastor was needed to effect a thorough observance of them on the part of priests and people. The harm done through the neglect of a prescription is sometimes not so much in the direct result of the non-observance of the law or decree or counsel, as in the apparent lack of uni-

[1] ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, Vol. XXIX, July, 1903, pp. 54–55.

[2] *Cf.* ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, Vol. XXXII, January, 1905, pp. 67–68.

formity or in that odious comparison to which the omission gives rise in the mind of the people, when they see one pastor observe as a duty what another neglects as optional. An instance of this may be found in the recent advice of the Holy Father to add the invocation, "Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on us," thrice at the end of the prayers after private Masses. It is a simple and effectual ejaculation, and one to which the people could heartily respond. By some priests it is said; by others it is omitted. If a simple-minded layman asks the priest, "Father, why don't you say the beautiful invocation which Father N—— always says at the end of his Mass?" the answer is: "The bishop has not promulgated it, and I do not want to be odd." It is all he can say. The bishop may reply that the Holy Father has not ordered this prayer, but leaves it to his discretion. That is true, and yet it would be a comfort to the priests and a source of edification to the faithful to have some direction looking to a uniform practice; for, as I have said, it is not the omission itself, but the comparison, that creates the sense of doubt and disorder in devotions of this kind.

There may be good reason in the act of a superior in counselling rather than prescribing a devotion. When he does so, he means that the devotion should be held where it causes no special inconvenience. In this way also he is furnished with a distinct gauge by which he can measure the zeal of subordinates, distinguishing those who without good reason set aside a wise and helpful suggestion, from those who possess that practical charity which "consenteth to the good." It would suffice then for the Ordinaries to say to the pastor what the Pope says to them, viz. "You may add this invocation," or "You may omit it for such and such reasons." In either case the faithful understand. When they know what is optional they blame no one for the difference in practice. In a matter of this kind, however, the wish of the bishop to do what the Pope desires is so easily accomplished that there could be practical uniformity. Where it fails, the reason should be obvious enough.

MAY THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY BE PERFORMED IN THE SANCTUARY?

Qu. O'Kane in his Notes on the Rubrics of the Roman Ritual, which have the approval of the Sacred Congregation of Rites (14 February, 1868), states (p. 58), in speaking of the ceremony of celebrating the Sacrament of Marriage, that among the things to be prepared for the Nuptial Mass are to be two seats or prie-Dieu for the bride and bridegroom, near to and in front of the altar—but not in the sanctuary. Wapelhorst, in his *Compendium Sacrae Liturgiae* (p. 457), says: "Parochus ante altare stans, in medio suppedanei, se convertit ad populum. Sponsi genuflectunt in extremitate anteriore suppedanei, vel super gradu superiore altaris, sponsa a sinistris sponsi." There appears to be a contradiction in these directions.

J. P.

Resp. The given references indicate a diversity of opinion between two liturgists, which freedom of diversity the Sacred Congregation admits without necessarily approving either the view of O'Kane or that of Wapelhorst exclusively.

The Ritual does not mention where the contracting parties are to stand or kneel, and so far their place appears to remain optional. Since, however, the rubrics of the Missal in the *Missa pro sponso et sponsa* state that the parties are to kneel at the altar during the Mass proper, it may be assumed that it is quite lawful for them to be in the sanctuary during the entire ceremony, and even if there be no Mass. The rubric, "Stans (celebrans) in cornu epistolae versus sponsum et sponsam *ante altare genuflexos* dicit super eos," would seem to indicate that the parties to be married are to come to the priest whilst he is standing at the Epistle side.

A CATHOLIC MARRIAGE IN A CAMPBELLITE CHURCH.

Qu. In the April issue of the REVIEW, page 428, I read "There is no prohibition of the Church against the celebration of mixed marriages in any particular locality."

As I write, a young man is sitting in the room who has come to me with a very unusual request. He is a member of a splen-

did Catholic family residing where there is no Catholic Church. He is to be married to a non-Catholic lady of the same town. Some years ago I performed the ceremony of a mixed marriage in a private house in the same town, and the mother of the bride prospective in the present case witnessed the ceremony. She was deeply impressed, as were all the others of a large crowd who were present. I suppose we priests act more solemnly on such occasions than some of the ministers of other churches.

Now this lady wishes her daughter married by me, and she is anxious that all of her invited guests should have an opportunity of seeing and hearing what goes on. Her invitation list will be quite extensive, for the family is prominent and widely connected. It would not be possible to conduct the ceremony with proper solemnity and decorum in any room in her home, for no room there would be large enough for the guests.

Now comes the unusual request: Would I conduct the ceremony in the Christian (Campbellite) church, of which the bride's family are members?

Personally, I would more than gladly do so if the Church does not forbid; for it would afford a good chance of addressing a non-Catholic audience on the nature of the marriage tie. Kindly let me know what you think. I have examined the back numbers of the REVIEW and cannot find anything that covers this case. If your answer is favorable to the request I shall take it to the bishop and get his consent.

Let me add that the bridegroom will not be married except by a priest. He is, if anything, averse to having the ceremony in the "Christian" church, and would prefer it, with all drawbacks, in the house; but he is naturally desirous of meeting the wishes of the bride and her parents as far as his Church permits. If the marriage cannot take place in the "Christian" church, it will take place in the home, and will be performed by the priest. In one word, there is no question at all of a danger that the bridegroom may prove false to his principles.

H. R. D.

Resp. Our statement that "there is no prohibition of the Church against the celebration of mixed marriages *in any particular locality*" was modified by the exclusion of all places

where a priest's dignity as minister of Christ would be compromised, or where his presence, short of absolute necessity and the evident wish to save souls from ruin, would be a scandal.

It cannot be said that a priest's presence in a Campbellite conventicle necessarily compromises his sacred position as minister of the Catholic Church. He might preach there, as St. Paul preached in the Areopagus, provided he preached the Christian truth, since he was ordained to proclaim that truth to all creatures and in every place, unless thereby he violated some more important precept of charity or order. In like manner he might perform any other function of his sacred ministry in a place which of itself does not force those who attend to the conclusion that he is participating in an idolatrous, heretical, or schismatical act of worship. A house ordinarily used for Protestant service may, for the time, be converted into a house used for Catholic worship, when necessity or decided convenience calls for such adaptation to certain circumstances which are neither the rule nor ordinary. Hence, we have instances where missionaries have celebrated Mass in sectarian meeting-houses. For like reasons a priest might celebrate baptisms, marriages, or funerals, in the same place; so long as it remains clearly understood from the very circumstances that the service is Catholic and that the accommodation is merely a question of suitable shelter and local convenience.

It would not, however, be distinctly clear in the present case that the marriage celebration, held for convenience' sake in a Campbellite conventicle, is a Catholic rite, so long as one of the parties about to be married actually belongs, and is known to belong, to the Campbellite sect, even if her allegiance be in good faith. The general body of those present, among whom are some of the Catholic community, and some of the "Christian Church" party, might easily be misled into the notion that there is in this solemn convocation to witness a marriage rite some religious significance which makes for the removal of the bar between the truth of the Catholic Church

and the profession of the so-called "Christian Church," a sect whose teachings Catholics condemn as erroneous and contrary to the revealed will of God. Hence the arrangement would look like a compromise of principles that do not admit of union, rather than a mere arrangement of convenience, for in all such matters religion has only one consistent voice.

THE CLERGY AND PERIODICAL CATHOLIC LITERATURE.

Editor, ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW:

I notice in the current ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW your article on "Catholic Periodical Literature," and I was rather surprised at your statement as to the important place the clergy occupy on the subscription books of Catholic papers.

The moral support of the clergy is important of course, but in my opinion only from one-tenth to one-twentieth of the subscription receipts of a Catholic paper come from the clergy.

If we figure that each of the 15,000 priests in the United States takes two Catholic papers, which is a liberal estimate (the support of the religious orders is a negligible factor), then the Catholic press gets a circulation of 30,000 among the clergy. The total circulation of the Catholic press in the United States cannot be less than 300,000. I should be more inclined to place it over 500,000.

H. DESMOND,
Editor, *Catholic Citizen,* Milwaukee.

No doubt the *weekly* Catholic papers have a very much larger circulation among the laity than they could have among the clergy, especially since they are in most cases diocesan in character and scope; and in this way the estimate of 500,000 readers may be easily accounted for. But taking our periodical literature altogether, notably that which by its permanent character appeals to the thoughtful reader—the monthlies and quarterlies which have a distinctly Catholic note—our contention will be found true. We stated that there are some exceptions—such as the *Ave Maria,* which has merited and kept its place among reading Catholics as a magazine both elevating and popular—but if we set aside these very few cases, our

statement will be found correct. To allow an average of two papers to each priest is perhaps a right estimate if we speak of weekly papers alone; it is certainly not true if we include the magazines. Many of the clergy, especially in the cities, get five or six weeklies and monthlies, and they frequently subscribe for their reading circles or societies. Our conclusion has been reached from two sources: the character of the articles in the magazines which betrays a predominant appeal to the clergy, and the experience of priests who say that on pastoral visitations they rarely find any other than the diocesan weekly in the average Catholic family. It is confirmed too by the experience of publicists who, ceasing to cater to the clergy, find themselves at a loss to interest the laity.

FUNERAL SERVICE ON "CORPUS CHRISTI."

Qu. A question came up some time ago in my parish and I would like to have some light on it. On 28 May a prominent man died, and the relatives wanted to have the funeral on Decoration Day, as that day is a legal holiday and all the people could come to the funeral. It so happened that the Feast of Corpus Christi fell on Decoration Day and I tried to get them to change it, but to no avail. After consulting with some whom I thought better informed than myself, I concluded to have the funeral with the Mass of Corpus Christi. I said the Mass of Corpus Christi with the body present in the church, and after Mass changed the vestments, put on black, and gave the absolution. I have since been told that I could have had the Missa Exsequialis on account of the solemnity being transferred to the Sunday following. If you find it convenient, I would like to have you publish an answer to the following questions:

1. Can the Missa Exsequialis be said on Corpus Christi in this country where the solemnity is transferred to the Sunday?

2. If not, could the Mass of Corpus Christi be said with the body present?

I will be very thankful for any information I may read in the REVIEW on these points.

PASTOR RUSTICUS.

Resp. There is no rubrical law at present which forbids

the celebration of a funeral Mass (" in die obitus seu depositionis, praesente corpore ") on the feast of Corpus Christi, for in the United States this is a feast transferred to the following Sunday, and therefore not solemnized on its proper day. (Decr. 6 March, 1896, n. 3890; also 16 November, 1898.)

As to having the corpse present during the Mass on a feast or a Sunday, when the Mass, though not celebrated in black, is to serve the purpose of the funeral rites, the rubrics make certain restrictions only for the more solemn feasts of the year. In such cases it would not be proper to have the *Absolutio ad tumulum* (which would require black vestments) follow immediately upon the Mass of the day. The funeral service should, under these circumstances, be deferred to a later hour, so as to disconnect it from the festive celebration of the liturgy. The S. Congregation, in answer to the question whether the absolution for the dead might be given after a Mass of the feast, invariably answered in the negative—*nisi omnino independenter a missa.* (Decr. 3780, ad 8, 12 July, 1892; also 2186, 4 August, 1708; 3014 ad 1. 9 June, 1853; 3201 ad 8, 20 March, 1869.)

Ecclesiastical Library Table.

RECENT BIBLE STUDY.

Introduction to the New Testament. 1. General Treatises. The names of Soden, Belser, Clemen, Seeberg, Jülicher, Zahn, Kunze are probably the most prominent among those who have recently published general treatises on New Testament Introduction. It is true that several of these publications are only new editions of older works; but then either the works themselves or their recent improvements are of such importance that the new editions deserve the careful attention of every Bible student. The reader is no doubt acquainted with Prof. Belser's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament.* The author has been called upon to issue a second edition. In this he abandons his former view in favor of the more common one concerning the original form of the first Gospel; but in treating of the fourth Gospel he defends the less common opinion that John 1:15; 5:3[b]-4; 7:53; 8:11 and 19:35 are due to a second John different from the Apostle; again, Belser still agrees with Blass as to the true Lucan origin of the peculiar readings found in Cod. D; he considers it desirable that the Clementine edition of the Vulgate should be revised; and he appears to find Nestle's text more satisfactory than either Hetzenauer's or Brandscheid's.[1] Zahn's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* is so well known and so generally appreciated that the announcement of a new edition of the work will be welcomed with sincere satisfaction.[2] Prof. Jülicher is able to announce the fifth and sixth newly revised edition of his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament.*[3] The author controverts some of the views advocated in Wellhausen's *Einleitung*; he has paid special attention to the revision of the history of

[1] Freiburg, Herder: 1905. [2] Vol. I. Leipzig, 1906: Deichert.

[3] Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften, II. 1. Tübingen, 1906: Mohr.

the text, the treatment of the Gospels, and the Johannine question. The opinions advanced concerning the last subject differ from those held by the writer in 1900.

C. Clemen has published a work that is practically a summary of the modern Protestant views on New Testament Introduction.[4] The writer first gives us his appreciation of verbal tradition, and then considers the introductory questions concerning the various books of the New Testament, ending with his views on the genesis of the Canon. All this is expressed in a popular style. Seeberg has collected a volume of essays and lectures on various topics connected with questions Biblical and historical.[5] The very nature of the subject forced the writer repeatedly into the field of New Testament Introduction. He discusses, e. g. the idea of the imitation of Christ, the so-called Logia, the Gospel of the Forty Days, the relation of St. Paul to Jesus, the character of the Apostle St. John, and other questions of the same importance. E. Kunze too has published a brief Introduction to the New Testament[6] which commends itself for brevity and cheapness.

Our sketch of the general treatises on Introduction to the New Testament would not be complete without the mention of von Soden's new volume on the subject.[7] The writer endeavors to revolutionize the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. In a former volume he had given us a new classification and description of the manuscripts; in the present he proceeds to investigate the primitive text. Prof. von Soden's views on this subject may seem fanciful to modern Bible students; at the same time, it cannot be denied that they are interesting. It appears that von Soden was guided in his study by what St. Jerome said of the Septuagint text

[4] Die Entstehung des Neuen Test. Sammlung Göschen. 285 Band. Leipzig, 1906: Göschen.

[5] Biblisches und Kirchengeschichtliches. Leipzig, 1906: Deichert.

[6] Einführung in das Neue Testament. Berlin, 1906: Zillessen.

[7] Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte. Band I, 2. Berlin, 1906; Duncker.

of his day: *Alexandria et Aegyptus in LXX suis Hesychium laudant auctorem, Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exempla probat, mediae inter has provinciae Palestinos codices legunt, quos ab Origine elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt, totusque orbis haec inter se trifaria varietate compugnat.* As St. Jerome found three main types of variations in the Septuagint text, so does Prof. Soden discover three different forms in the New Testament text: (*1*) the common or Syrian form, denoted by the letter *K*; (*2*) the Egyptian recension, denoted by the letter *H*; (*3*) the Palestinian type, denoted by the letter *I*.

Prof. von Soden tells us that *K* is noted for its correct orthography, its classicism, and the exact parallelism of its members. Its presence is detected in the original text from which the Gothic version has been made, in the commentaries of St. Chrysostom, Victor of Antioch, and Titus of Bosra, called briefly the Antiochene Commentary, and it has influenced the text found in the great Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts belonging to the fourth century. As it is known that Lucian produced a recension of the New Testament text in Antioch, and that he suffered martyrdom A. D. 312, von Soden naturally concludes that in *K* we have really the text of Lucian's recension. Bible students see at once that this conclusion is as important as it is startling; for thus far the text of this Syrian recension was supposed to be undiscoverable.

According to Soden, the text denoted by *K* is identical with the text of Lucian's recension (*1*) because it appeared at the time at which Lucian published his recension; (*2*) because it appeared in the same place in which the Syrian martyr lived. Since history knows of only one Syrian recension belonging to that time and place, *K* must be identical with the text of Lucian. Besides, (*3*) the quality of *K* resembles the quality of Lucian's text; for *K* exhibits the traits of Tatian's style, and therefore those of the school of Edessa; now it is well known that Lucian too was trained in this same school. Again, (*4*) about the end of the third and the beginning of

the fourth century Lucian's influence was paramount in Antioch, so that his text would without difficulty find its way into the writings of the best-known scholars of his day; in point of fact, this achievement belongs to the text-form *K*. Considering all these arguments, one becomes convinced that it would take many and strong reasons to reverse Prof. von Soden's conclusion that *K* is identical with the text of Lucian's recension.

On comparing *K* with the Syrian versions, one sees that the Curetonian and the Sinaitic Syriac texts are independent of *K*, and that *K*, in its turn, is independent of the Peschitta, while the latter has been influenced by *K*. Next, studying the relation of *K* to the other two main text-forms, *H* and *I*, Soden arrived at the conclusion that the influence of the former on the latter is comparable to the influence of the Massoretic on the Septuagint text. It would be wrong, however, to maintain that *K* has remained unchanged in the course of centuries. The writer has studied its phases from the text itself, from the form in which the passage of the adulterous woman appears in the Gospels, and from what may be called the apparatus of *K*. One special phase, denoted as K^{1}, appears between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, mainly in three uncial manuscripts; a second phase, denoted by K^{r}, exhibits certain liturgical modifications which have been examined in 196 representatives written after the twelfth century; a third phase, denoted as K^{x}, exhibits textual corrections mainly of an orthographical and grammatical character, made from the readings of the Lectionaries, of certain commentaries, and of parallel verses, and belonging between K^{1} and K^{r}.

H denotes the second main text-form of the New Testament, due to the recension made by Hesychius in Egypt. It has fewer representatives than *K* among the manuscripts, though some of those commonly regarded as the most important are among the number. B, ℵ, C, ϒ, and several cursive codices exhibit *H* in a fairly pure form. If B and ℵ be excepted, these manuscripts do not depend on one another, but

they are regarded by Soden as the outcome of a prior, common text-form. Traces of any influence exerted on *H* by either *K* or *I*, or by the original of the Sahidic version are rare. Since *H* was well known in Egypt, it cannot astonish us to see it used by such men as St. Athanasius, Didymus, and St. Cyril of Alexandria. Professor Soden has not failed to compare *H* with the Coptic versions. He believes that both the Sahidic and the Bohairic Version depend on *H*, but with this difference that the Sahidic follows *H* quite closely, while the Bohairic shows the influence of *K*. Bousset [8] disagrees in this point with Prof. von Soden, contending that if the Bohairic Version shows the influence of *K*, the Sahidic represents really a text older than *H*, though it has been retouched under the influence of *H*. That the original text from which the Sahidic Version has been translated, is older than *H*, appears to be confirmed by its near relationship to D, to the old Itala texts, to the first Syriac versions, and perhaps to the text employed by Clement of Alexandria.

The third main text-form, denoted by *I*, is rightly called the Palestinian, because many of its representatives are connected with the church of Jerusalem, and agree with the text-forms of Eusebius, of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and of the Palestinian Lectionaries. The fact that it has influenced the texts of both *K* and *H*, shows that it must have enjoyed a great deal of authority in certain parts of the Church. But its representatives are fewer than those of either *K* or *H*; nor do they exhibit it in as pure a form as its rivals have been preserved by their respective representatives. Still, its characteristic peculiarities are recognizable in the readings common to the Sinaitic Syriac, the Itala, the Ferrar group of manuscripts, the Codex of Basle, and the Codex Bezae. From this is it clear that the text-form prevailed in a very extensive territory and is very old. We cannot here give a full description of the various phases of *I* distinguished by Prof. von Soden. At any rate, it is most gratifying to see how the problems of Codex *A* and Codex *D* are explained by the in-

[8] Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1907, 72 f.

genious author. It is also interesting to follow Prof. von Soden in his reconstruction of a text common to the great text forms, denoted as *I-H-K*; the author believes that this text may be found in Origen. Other scholars urge the exception that Origen is well known to have had several texts at hand; but even if this opinion of Soden be premature, he certainly deserves the gratitude of all New Testament students for giving us the principles of an entirely new Textual Criticism. Indirectly he has shown the great value of the ancient versions, the old Syriac, the old Latin, and the Sahidic, which precede the time of the three main text-forms *K*, *H*, and *I*.

2. Special Treatises Introductory to the New Testament. a. The Canon. Ewald urges the relatively late origin of our New Testament Canon, seeing that it is a collection of various occasional writings. Other difficulties against an early collection of the Canon, we are told by the writer, are to be found in the obscurity of the books, and in their real or apparent divergences. He maintains that the text is badly preserved. This negative tendency of the book is somewhat modified by the writer's contention that modern criticism strives in vain against the evidence of the New Testament writings.[9] Robinson discusses in the *Expositor* (S. VII, I, 481-495) the problem of the "Authorship of the Muratorian Canon," and arrives at the conclusion that Hippolytus is certainly the writer. At the same time, he identifies the *Capita contra Gaium* with the Apology for the Apocalypse and the Gospel of St. John. In the March number of the *Collationes Brugenses*, A. Camerlynck attacks Loisy's contention that Ignatius, Papias, Polycarp, and Justin did not acknowledge the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel. Other publications concerning the Canon of the New Testament are, Turner's articles entitled "Niceta and Ambrosiaster";[10] Bacon's article entitled "Gospel Types in Primitive Tradition";[11] and Preuschen's pamphlet on the history preceding the Canon of the Gospels.[12]

[9] Der Kanon des Neuen Testaments. Gr.-Lichterfelde, 1906: Runge.
[10] Journal of Theological Studies, VII. 203–219; 355–372.
[11] The Hibbert Journal, IV. 877–895.
[12] Zur Vorgeschichte des Evangelienkanons. Programm. Darmstadt, 1905.

b. The Text. J. J. Kneucker has written on the oldest-known text of the Gospels. He believes that the Sinaitic Syriac text will bring us a step nearer the original text of the New Testament and to the authentic words of Jesus.[13] A. Deissmann entitles "Light from the East" an article in which he discusses fourteen Gospel fragments preserved on Egyptian remains.[14] Sillib publishes the text of Rom. 5: 14—6: 2 as preserved on an old piece of parchment, and shows by means of the reading *si enim* instead of *qui enim* in Rom. 6: 2 that the parchment contains a text belonging to the group represented in the writings of St. Augustine.[15] Other publications belonging to this class are: Guilliam's "Fourfold Holy Gospel";[16] Lake's note on "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Martyrdom of Abo."[17] Pistelli's *Papiri evangelici*;[18] Barton and Spoer's "Traces of the Diatessaron of Tatian in Heraclean Syriac Lectionaries";[19] and Lewis's two contributions entitled "The Sinai Palimpsest,"[20] and "The Evangelium da Mepharreshe."[21]

c. Editions. Prof. Nestle highly recommends the so-called *Resultant Greek Testament*[22] edited by R. Fr. Weymouth.[23] Catholic readers will be glad to learn that Brandscheid has been able to begin the publication of a third edition of his well-known New Testament text.[24] In 1859 Scrivener pub-

[13] Protestantische Monatshefte, X. 182–194; 242–250.

[14] Die Christliche Welt, 1.

[15] Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, VII. 82–86.

[16] London, 1905: British and Foreign Bible Society.

[17] Expository Times, XVII, 286. [18] Studi religiosi, VI. 129–140.

[19] Journal of Biblical Literature, XXIV. 179–195.

[20] Expository Times, XVII. 479. [21] *Ibid.*, 383 f.

[22] Theologisches Literaturblatt, XXVII. 209 f.

[23] The Resultant Greek Testament exhibiting the Text in which the Majority of Modern Editors have agreed and containing the Readings of Stephen's (1550), Lachmann, Tregelles, Lightfoot, Ellicott, Alford, Weiss, the Bale Edition (1880), Westcott-Hort, and the Revision Committee. London, 1905: Clarke.

[24] Novum Testamentum graece et latine. Textum graecum recensuit latinum ex Vulgata versione Clementina adiunxit, breves capitulorum inscriptiones et locos parallelos uberiores addidit. 3 ed. critice recognita. Pars I. Evangelia. Freiburg, 1906: Herder.

lished a new edition of the so-called *Textus Receptus* according to the text of the third edition published by R. Stephanus A. D. 1550, and added the variants of the most noted modern editions. The text was found to be so handy that a second and third edition of the same were soon in demand; Prof. Nestle has now given us a fourth edition of the same, in which he has corrected the inaccuracies noticed by himself and by Prof. Schmiedel in Scrivener's excellent edition.[25]

d. Versions. Mehl endeavors to popularize Prof. Resch's reconstruction of the original Gospel. The reader knows that this attempt had been made in Hebrew; hence Mehl translates the book into German.[26] It is understood that it will not make any impression on those who do not accept Prof. Resch's hypothesis. A rather curious edition of the New Testament has been published in London[27] under the title "The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." The parts are arranged in the order in which they are supposed to have come to those in the first century who believed in our Lord. There is also in the market a new English translation of the New Testament according to Nestle's text.[28] Finally, Moscof has published a study on some modern New Testament versions.[29]

e. New Testament Grammar. Under this head we may briefly remind the reader of Moulton's "Grammar of the N. T. Greek";[30] Abbott's "Johannine Grammar";[31] and the various studies published on the subject by Prof. Deissmann.[32]

[25] Novum Testamentum. Textus Stephanici A.D. 1550, cum variis lectionibus editionum Bezae, Elzeviri, Lachmanni, Tischendorfii, Tregellesii, Westcott-Hortii, versionis Anglicanae emendatorum curante F. H. A. Scrivener. Accedunt parallela S. Scripturae loca. London, 1906: Bell.

[26] Das Urevangelium. Nach A. Resch' Wiederherstellung der Logia Jesu. Leipzig, 1906: Hinrichs.

[27] 1906: Everyman's Library, Dent.

[28] S. Lloyd: Corrected New Testament. London, 1906: Bagster.

[29] Les traductions bulgares. Echos d'Orient. 1905, Sept.

[30] Edinburgh, 1906: Clark.

[31] London, 1906: Black.

[32] Cf. Expository Times, XVIII, 202 ff.; 305 ff.

Criticisms and Notes.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST. By the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, Bishop of Newport. (The Westminster Library: A Series of Manuals for Catholic Priests and Students, edited by the Right Rev. Mgr. Bernard Ward, President of St. Edmund's College, and the Rev. Herbert Thurston, S. J.) New York, London, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1907. Pp. 278.

In commending, some time ago, the first volume of this series (*The Tradition of Scripture*), we pointed out the characteristic merit which attaches to the idea of providing the English-speaking cleric with manuals that actually facilitate the study of serious and professional subjects. There is no lack of learned works on all the topics that belong to the so-called theological disciplines; but amid the modern conditions of the average student's life, these erudite treatises must remain on our library shelves or in the hands of specialists. They are inefficient, because too cumbersome, instruments for those who find rare use for profound and purely scholastic arguments in their daily efforts to lighten the burden and direct the path of erring minds around them to the lightsome regions of peace. And whilst there must remain with us a natural reverence and a certain amount of admiration for the grand old armor of the past, an armor which tells of a certain strength not possessed by the present generation, the notion that the age can go back to the habits of its early development is as untenable in the moral and intellectual order, as the idea of man returning to the prowess of his youth is in the physical order. Old age is wiser, and its experience makes its reasoning shorter than was the process of its intellectual striding in youth. So is it with our theological studies. The necessities of to-day have made us look for the shorter process of exposition and reasoning, just as they have also lessened our taste for professed discussions on minute questions of theology, and increased our appreciation of more direct, simple and unqualified interpretations of the leading dogmas of our faith. This is not to say that such a predominance of the practical want should lessen the use of the didactic and critical methods employed for a time in the classrooms of theology. We prac-

tise to gain agility and strength for our limbs, but we do not take the clubs of the gymnasium with us to battle or to the chase.

In having induced Bishop Hedley to supply for the present purpose a manual on the Blessed Eucharist, the editors have secured two singular advantages for the reader. One of these is the fact that the pastoral and practically apologetic character of the subject has received that consideration which would hardly have been accorded it to the same degree in the ordinary scholastic treatment of the theme, even when taken out of its purely dogmatic setting. The other advantage is the fact that we have here a manual of good doctrine which is also a model of good English.

In view of the modern theories of knowledge, the defence of the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist assumes greater importance to-day than has been the case since the time of Berengarius. The philosophy of the Catholic Church is a human, plain, and consistent appeal to sound reason, and, when disengaged from purely speculative abstractions, this philosophy suits every age, and its eternal truths and resistless logic will bear down successfully the pretentious framework of the most brilliant sceptical speculation. Thus the teaching of the Eucharistical philosophy injects a healthy element into our intellectual life, and acts like a precipitant upon the vaporous effusions of the modern school of metaphysics. In like manner it offsets the tendency to make profession of that materialistic creed which favors socialism and which is espoused by that large middle class of intellects that sees in life only its present advantages. On the other hand it serves to refine the more noble energies of reflecting minds and to attract them toward a spiritual sustenance which satisfies their innate cravings for spiritual ideals, ordinarily clouded by sentiment that merely develops egotism and a refined hankering after spiritual sympathy. Regarded then from the practical side, the doctrine of the Blessed Eucharist, rightly appreciated, furnishes the mind and heart with that disposition which makes a new growth and condition of soul-life possible, not only in the individual who turns to the Blessed Sacrament for all that the Real Presence offers to man on earth—that "sacrum convivium quo mens impletur gratia, et futurae vitae nobis datur praemium"—but in the social body leavened by the ferment of the celestial Manna.

Beginning with the facts of the institution of the Holy Eucharist, Bishop Hedley examines the value of the Scriptural testimony. Thence he passes to the meaning and purpose of the mystery of the Holy Eucharist, the Real Presence as interpreted by the Christian Fathers, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, with the historical elements that led to the definition of Trent, the distinction of substance, species, accident. On this latter point, that of "accidents," the author is exceptionally clear and satisfactory, by reason of his illustration of a matter ordinarily difficult to grasp. It is the "dimensive quantity" alone that is miraculously sustained in the accidents or qualities of bread and wine, so that the color, or taste, or smell of the elements remains, a contention which brings the evidence of the Real Presence into easy harmony with the modern theories of molecular physics. The matter and form of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, its use, under one kind or both kinds, its effects immediate and vicarious, are discussed in the same practical and discriminating manner. This is especially true of the chapter on Frequent Communion, recommended by the present Pontiff, where the author follows the line of argument advocated in this review, regarding the dispositions required for a fruitful frequent reception of the Holy Eucharist.

The second part of the Manual treats of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Here the apostolic and patristic evidence is given as interpreted by modern scholarship. In establishing the notion of "sacrifice," Bishop Hedley expresses his dissent from the theory of those theologians who, like Bellarmine and De Lugo, see in the priest's Communion at Mass an act of "destruction" as the essential note of the sacrifice. The Communion is a meal, as the Mass is the Lord's Supper, that is to say, it is a banquet which completes a sacrifice. Next, the Mass is considered as a liturgy; its practice in Apostolic days, in the Middle Ages, at the present day. Here the author explains the different usages as regards vestments, prayers, readings, ceremonies, and incidentally points out how the Mass may be perfectly followed without its language being fully understood.

The final chapter is of more than ordinary importance from the ecclesiastico-historical viewpoint. It deals with the "cultus" of the Blessed Sacrament, and naturally adverts to the difficulty of showing—and the difficulty is sustained by prominent Catholic

historians—that there existed previous to the tenth or eleventh century any Eucharistic cultus of reservation in the Tabernacle. Bishop Hedley shows that in the first place the argument of a universal belief in the Real Presence is not at all affected by this negative appeal to the liturgical usage of the early ages. The testimony of Origen, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, and others of equal weight, is so explicit and conclusive regarding the acceptance of this belief that any absence of proof that there was a cultus such as we have in the Church at present, can at best be cited as a difficulty, but may not be appealed to as sustaining a doubt. The author traces the origin and illustrates the beauty of the various forms of Eucharistic adoration in the Church—Corpus Christi, processions, exposition, *Quarant' Ore*, Benediction.

THE HOLY HOUR OF ADORATION. Compiled by the Right Rev. William Stang, D. D., Bishop of Fall River. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1907. Pp. 194.

The devotion to the Blessed Eucharist has happily received a great impulse in America through the establishment and efforts of the Eucharistic League. It works simultaneously among priests and people, and whilst there is danger of all other devotions practised by Catholics being misunderstood, becoming mechanical, and being perverted into a mere superstition, the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament is not capable of being exaggerated or turned into unworthy uses. One of the most effective forms of this devotion is that of regularly spending a continuous hour of adoration before the tabernacle. Whilst this practice has been growing in popularity for some years, there was still a lack of some popular or suitable manuals adapted to common use in public or private exercises during the hour of adoration. Bishop Stang was frequently made conscious of this need whilst he was engaged in giving missions among the people; and of the many useful things he did as bishop, with his pen, this is not the least. It gives an "Order of Exercises of the Holy Hour of Adoration" in which priest and people take part. A good and practical selection of prayers, aspirations, and hymns, indulgenced for the most part, and taken from trustworthy sources of devotional expression, fill this neat little manual and make it an admirable guide and help to attentive prayer before the Blessed Sacrament.

ESSENTIALS AND NON-ESSENTIALS OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION. By the Rev. H. G. Hughes. Notre Dame, Indiana: The Ave Maria Press. 1907. Pp. 111.

In this small volume Father Hughes, known to our readers as a clever apologist who combines in his writings solidity of doctrine, progressiveness of viewpoint, and practical purpose, answers in a thoroughly satisfactory manner the four questions: What are Catholics bound to believe? What are Catholics free to believe or not? What are Catholics bound to practise? What are Catholics free to practise or not? He prefaces the discussion of these questions by a clear definition of the nature of divine faith, setting forth the reasonableness of its demands upon both intellect and will, and the extent of it. Thus he enables us to distinguish faith from mere assumption on the one hand, and from credulity on the other. The Church, whilst demanding from us an assent to claims of truth that rest upon demonstrably good and trustworthy authority, never asks us to believe as of faith what is absurd or what is contradicted by reason and fact. If she proposes mysteries, a complete fathoming of which unaided reason cannot attain to, she does so from motives that appeal to the intellect as sufficient; just as science or history proposes for our belief things which, whilst we have perhaps no personal understanding or experience of them, simply come to us on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses. The testimony of faith is as reasonable and palpable as are the evidences of scientific inventions and of historical incident. All this Father Hughes makes very clear; and the fact renders his brief exposition of decided importance not merely for those outside the fold who might misinterpret certain doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church, thereby being kept from embracing her truths, but also for Catholics themselves. For many of our own people regard as sinful the omissions of certain practices which, by being performed in a merely perfunctory fashion, satisfy a superficial conscience, without real gain to the soul, and which, not being essential or commanded, are sometimes better omitted. There is such a thing as devotion turning to superstition; and nothing will prevent this evil more effectually than a clear understanding of what faith demands from our mind and will, and what generous love inspires by way of individual devotion. Beyond this it is needless to praise the book. The Ave Maria

Press, under Father Hudson's experienced and discriminating direction, gives assurance not only of well-selected matter, but also of attractive form in the publications which it puts forth. The present volume is a useful and handsome addition to the religious library series of Notre Dame.

LIFE OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST AND HIS VIRGIN MOTHER MARY. From the Original of the Rev. L. C. Businger, by the Rev. Richard Brennan, LL.D. Published with the Imprimatur of His Grace the Most Rev. Archbishop of New York. With numerous illustrations in the text, and thirty-two full-page illustrations by Martin Fenerstein. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1907. Pp. 876 quarto.

Among the artistic publications of the Life of Christ and His Blessed Mother the present volume holds a leading place. It is in a true sense a book for family reading, for it not only makes us familiar, in a graceful, easy, and popular way, with the facts of our Lord's history, both as foreshadowed in the Old Testament and as expressed in the New, but it also leads us to an understanding of the sacramental effects of that divine human life on successive generations in the history of the general Church and in the way of salvation and evangelical perfection which it prescribes for the individual. A practical feature, well adapted to the needs of Catholics in every sphere of life, but especially for those whose conditions oblige them to forgo regular attendance at instructions on Sundays and festivals, is the arrangement of a supplementary index of appropriate reading for the various feasts and seasons of the ecclesiastical year. Dr. Brennan's adaptation from Father Businger's well-known work is here cast into a new form that recommends itself by the beautiful bookmaking no less than by the solid and instructive character of the matter. The typography, illustrations, binding, make the volume an exceptionally attractive and helpful gift book.

MARY THE MOTHER OF CHRIST in Prophecy and Its Fulfilment. By Richard F. Quigley, K. C., LL.B. (Harvard), Dr. Phil. and Lit. Third, revised and enlarged edition. Ratisbon, Rome, New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet and Co. 1907. Pp. 493.

Readers of twenty years ago may remember that a certain book under the title *Ipse, Ispa; Ipse, Ipsa, Ipsum*: *Which?* made considerable stir in controversial circles, inasmuch as it took to task

a rather prominent Protestant divine who had attacked the Catholic position on Our Blessed Lady's Immaculate Conception. The attack had made pretensions to be based on critical Scriptural grounds, and the answer of the clever Canadian lawyer who felt called upon to vindicate not only Catholic dogma but Catholic scholarship as well, came with a peculiarly incisive emphasis. It was welcomed on all sides by those who were free from bias on the subject. The volume before us is a new edition, enlarged, of the same work. It is written in the form of a rejoinder, is in the main controversial, and splendidly illustrates the Catholic and Scriptural doctrine on the prerogatives of the Virgin Mother of Christ. The work was reviewed in these pages at the time of its first appearance.

TREATISE ON THE SACRAMENT OF EXTREME UNCTION. By the Rev. P. J. Hanley. Ratisbon, Rome, New York, and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet and Co. 1907. Pp. 57.

This is a really useful exposition of the subject, and serves both the student and the catechist by explaining in a clear and perfectly simple way the nature of the Sacrament—its names, definition, institution, the doctrinal errors concerning it condemned by the Church. It points out the benefits of this Sacrament from the supernatural and also from the natural points of view as evidenced by what Protestants, such as Leibnitz and Goethe, have written of its beneficent effects. The theological doctrine of matter and form, the application, immediate and secondary effects in the order of grace, the disposition and intention requisite for the due reception of the benefits, together with many practical directions for the minister and the recipients of this helpful Sacrament, are treated in a manner which, whilst in some respects lacking the order and precision of scientific textbooks, is thoroughly readable and will be found helpful by those who expect to come in professional contact with Catholic patients to whom the Sacrament is to be given. Referring to a certain lack of scholastic precision, we might point out an instance, probably the only one of any noteworthy consideration. At page 16 the writer speaks of Extreme Unction as a "sacrament of the living; that is, the person who receives it is supposed to be living the life of grace." On the next page we read: "It is also a sacrament of the dead, that is, the recipient is spirtually dead."

This juxtaposition might be puzzling to the lay mind, although the theologian understands perfectly well that what is here meant is, not that the same person to be qualified properly for the sacrament must be both dead and alive, but that primarily the Sacrament is for the spiritually living, though secondarily and in some cases for those who are spiritually dead, and capable of revival. The very purpose of usefulness which this booklet serves requires the avoidance of ambiguities of this kind; though they are easily explained and do not undo the merit of the treatise on the whole.

DIE GROSSEN WELTRÄTHSEL. Philosophie der Natur von Tilmann Pesch, S. J. Dritte verbesserte Auflage. Band I. Freiburg i. B., und St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1907. Pp. xxiii—781.

By the death of Father Pesch (18 October, 1899), the Church lost one of her most loyal sons, and her philosophy one of its most enlightened and staunchest defenders. Gifted with a broad and penetrating mind, equipped with an extensive knowledge not only of Catholic intellectualism but likewise of alien and opposite systems of thought; conversant also with the facts and theories of the physical sciences, he brought to the exposition and defence of theistic philosophy a preparedness and experience which have placed his works among the most noteworthy contributions to that philosophy in recent times. His *Institutiones Logicales* (three vols.), *Institutiones Philosophiae Naturalis* (two vols.), and his *Institutiones Psychologicae* (three vols.) are unsurpassed, if at all equalled, in comprehensiveness and erudition by any similar production in the entire range of didactic scholastic literature; although in respect of method, it is true, they may easily be criticized—a method that is needlessly prolix and complicated and entailing much repetition of the same material. These, however, are professional works, interesting mainly to special students. That for which the author is probably most widely known and respected is his leading work in German, *Die Grossen Welträthsel* (The Great World-Riddles), the third edition of which is here presented.

The "riddles" in question—the author uses the term only in condescension to a more or less popular vogue, and would prefer the term "problems"—are those which centre in man's origin, nature, and destiny, but which find their beginnings in the

phenomena of nature, and for which a solution may be hoped for only through a comprehensive philosophy of nature; for "nature" is like a lens that gathers rays of light from every side, and focuses them on one sole source of all finite reality, reduction to which source is therefore the only satisfactory answer to the problems of human existence. That such a philosophy is possible and necessary Father Pesch first establishes. He then offers the results of philosophical speculation on the basal concepts of natural science—on matter, force, law, and finality. He next proceeds to compare the solutions offered by modern philosophy with those presented by the system deriving from Aristotle. Here the philosophical explanation of nature—the scope of the present volume—leads over to the larger synthesis of a philosophic world-view. This is the domain of the second volume, which has yet to appear in its revised edition, and in which the various forms of recent monism will be compared with the temperate dualism of the peripatetic world-view.

The preceding edition of the work appeared some fifteen years ago. In the meantime, although no new philosophy has arisen, physical science has made fresh discoveries and altered some of its hypotheses. Of the more important of these the editor, a quondam colleague of Father Pesch, has given due notice, and has thus brought the present volume abreast with the existing front of the natural sciences. The volume has taken on but little in size, but has received an even handsomer form and dress than it previously enjoyed.

EXAMEN CRITIQUE DES GOUVERNEMENTS REPRESENTATIFS DANS LA SOCIETE MODERNE. Par Taparelli d'Azeglio, S.J. Traduit de l'Italien par le P. Pichot, S.J. Paris: P. Lethielleux. 4 Vols.

Father Pichot has done a service to the seriously-thinking world by securing through the present French translation a wider diffusion for the profound and salutary reflexions of the great Italian philosopher on modern representative governments. Taparelli was one of those who did most to effect a revival of Catholic philosophy in Italy toward the middle of the last century, and by the *Civiltà Cattolica*, which he helped to found, exercised a strong influence in combating the false liberalism so widely spread throughout Europe. His *Saggio di Dritto Naturali* still

holds its high place in the literature of ethics not only in the Italian language, but also in modern languages generally. The *Esame Critico* ranks almost equally with the *Saggio* as regards range, thoroughness, and practical importance.

In some respects it stands fairly on a level with the great work of Balmes on European civilization. What the Spanish philosopher did by manifesting the moral and social consequences of the Reformation, the Italian did by showing the political effects of the same revolutionary movement. Every one, of course, knows that the revolt of the sixteenth century consisted ultimately in setting up the independence of reason against authority, religious, intellectual, and political. But it is one thing to know this fact in a general way and another to know it philosophically. The layman's knowledge of a disease differs widely from that of the experienced physician. The average educated person may recognize clearly enough that modern States are suffering from some very radical disorder without seeing in any way clearly why and how the disease has invaded all the organs of the body politic, has largely falsified the public spirit, and denaturalized the social organism. And even should he see the causes, workings, and effects of the disorder, he may nevertheless be unable to point out or apply the true principles of social reorganization or to prescribe safe remedies for the social malady. This precise, comprehensive, and practical knowledge of the political status of modern Europe Taparelli possessed in a remarkable degree, and he sets it forth distinctly and firmly in the *Esame Critico,* which a French writer has called a *summa philosophica* of the social organism applied to modern times—a philosophy solid in its principles, logical in its deductions, practical in its bearings, and harmonious in its systematic structure.

Some idea of the range of the ground covered may be gained by a brief outline of the volumes at hand. The first volume presents an analysis of social unity, and discusses the problem of universal suffrage and the emancipation of States. The second treats of liberty, and specifically of the liberty of the press, and of teaching; also of naturalism, social prosperity, and the divisions of governmental functions. The third volume applies the principles previously established, and analyzes further the "modernized nation," the legislative and the executive powers, the "fatherland," and the State. The concluding volume ex-

tends the principles further to administration, practical economy, the army, the judiciary. This last volume likewise contains a luminous epilogue, also a critique of Montalembert's *Des intérêts catholiques au 19e Siècle.* The plan thus outlined, it will be seen, is broad enough to embrace every philosophical question of importance centering in the organization of society and government, while the compass of the four goodly volumes is ample enough to admit of at least fairly adequate development. Not all readers, especially such as are imbued with certain widespread theories on the wisdom of universal suffrage, sovereignty of the people, separation of political functions, etc., will agree with the author's ideas on these points. Some, too, may protest that his picture of the vices and failings of modern governments is excessively dark, that his diagnoses of political disorders are insufficiently critical and therefore unreliable, that his remedial prescriptions are somewhat too general to be effective; and so on. Nevertheless, the discussion of these, as well as of the other fundamental problems, in the light of sound philosophical and theological principles in so far as they are verified and tested by historical experience, cannot fail to enlarge as well as deepen one's vision, even should it not always convince.

CATECHISMUS ROMANUS ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini ad parochos Pii V, P. M., jussu editus. Editio quarta. Permissu superiorum. Ratisbonae, Romae, Neo Eboraci, et Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet. 1907.

Among the books that every cleric's library, however limited otherwise, should contain, is the classical and standard text-book of the *Catechismus Romanus.* Leo XIII, in one of his Letters to the French Bishops, commends it to the assiduous use of the Catholic clergy, and styles it a *liber aureus.* This title it deserves not only because it contains a concise summary of the rudiments of Christian doctrine as defined by the Council of Trent, but also because it is a good example of lucid and pure Latinity. The present edition is that of Dr. Buse, amended according to the Mantuan copy, and containing the *Praxis Catechismi* which apportions the chapters of Christian doctrine to the Sundays of the year.

Literary Chat.

Les Promesses du Sacré Coeur, by the Abbé Boubée (H. and L. Casterman, Tournai), is an ideal book for the devotional exercises of the "First Fridays" of each month in honor of the Sacred Heart. The meditations on the graces, commonly called the "Twelve Promises," which attach to the faithful cultivation of this devotion, are formed on the pattern of the exercises of St. Ignatius—three points, which conclude with an act of preparation for death. At the end of the volume there is a separate "monthly exercise" as a special preparation for death. The appendix has prayers and acts addressed particularly to the Sacred Heart and serviceable in public devotions.

A new edition of the English translation of Fr. Borgo's twelve *Meditations on the Sacred Heart of Jesus*, originally adapted for a novena in preparation for the feast, has recently been issued by the Christian Press Association of New York.

Longmans, Green, and Co. publish a handsome (in the literal and in the accepted sense of the word) edition of Cardinal Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. No student of religious opinions can fail to profit by every repeated reading of this volume, and a "pocket edition" is of all things the best way of being persuaded thereto. The volume contains all the notes and supplemental matter, besides a letter to the Very Rev. Canon Flanagan not printed in the standard edition of 1902.

Cardinal Svampa's Catechism for Religious (*Piccolo catechismo religioso*) has been translated into German (Laumann, Dülmen i. W.). There is also an English version, noticed some months ago. It is a small manual which in clear and concise language sets forth the dignity and duties of the religious life in our day. A little volume, similar in scope and aim, though less matter-of-fact and not in the catechetical form, is *In Thy Courts*, a translation from the French of Fr. Vignat, S.J., by one of the Woodstock Fathers. It is "a short, solid, comprehensive study of the Call of Christ to a life in Religion" (Longmans, Green, and Co.).

Dom Oswald Hunter Blair's translation of the *Rule of St. Benedict*, which was made by him some twenty years ago from an ancient MS. in the library of Monte Cassino, has been newly revised and is now published, with the Notes and a copious Index, by Sands and Co. (Herder.)

The *Magazine of Christian Art* (The John C. Winston Company, Philadelphia) promises well. It means to devote itself to present church building and to the allied ecclesiological arts, as well as to Christian archeology in general. The second issue (May) contains a paper on architectural education in the United States by the editor, Ralph Adams Cram, and an illustrated paper by Louise Imogen Guiney which explains in a sketchy

and yet thoroughly thoughtful fashion the continuance of that striving after beautiful architectural effects as manifest in the collegiate buildings of the post-Reformation period, before it ceased wholly to reflect the dying colors of Alexandrine poetry and its counterparts. "Ecclesiastical Tapestries," by W. G. Thompson, and "Ecclesiastical Heraldry in the United States" are indications of the trend of the articles in general. The plates are admirable, as is the letterpress and arrangement of the mechanical departments. It is a magazine long needed to give intelligent direction to our artistic aims in church work, and to refine the taste of our ecclesiastical designers.

Persons who desire a reasoned survey of the affairs of the Church in France during the last six years will find the same in a volume entitled *The Religious Persecution in France, 1900–1906*, by J. Napier Broadhead (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co.), published by Herder in America. The author not only understands French conditions and the animus of the autocracy which has waged war against the Church under the guise of republican enlightenment and freedom, but he likewise knows the American temper which is disposed to take a fair view of the merits of the contest. He speaks without any reserve, from personal observation during a long residence in France, though not as a professed Catholic would, upon the principles involved, principles on which the safeguarding of liberty of conscience and public as well as private morality depend.

The Rev. John J. Dunn (Society for the Propagation of the Faith) has written an interesting biography of the saintly young priest *Just de Bretenières*, who at the age of twenty-eight years laid down his life as a martyr in Corea. The letters of the youthful hero are deeply touching, and there is much to be learned from these pages, written by an American priest in reverent and affectionate admiration of a present-day brother missionary who has merited the title of martyr—a name that must appeal to our generosity and stimulate the pastoral zeal whence grow faith and charity by which the world is subdued to Christ.

Another volume (the seventh) of *Herder's Konversations-Lexicon* brings the work down to the word "Spinner." The student experiences a wholesome feeling of security in taking up one of these volumes for reference. Catholic, because objective in its presentation of facts, and free from sectarian bias of any kind; up-to-date in the matter of science and mechanics; well printed, and tastefully as well as intelligibly illustrated, the German reader has a household treasure in this work which cannot easily be supplanted by other educational apparatus that may be introduced into the home or the library.

The devotion to the Holy Ghost needs a new impulse to put it into its legitimate place as fundamental in all Catholic devotion, aside and above the numerous prayer exercises which appeal to the sentimental side of piety. Father A. A. Lambing's *Fountain of Living Water* (Fr. Pustet and Co.), that is, "Thoughts on the Holy Ghost for every day in the year," is a new contribution to this literature that will assist in the revival

of the solid spirit of devotion. The thoughts are selections from all kinds of sources, old and new, to illustrate the efficiency of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost. The volume is in keeping, as regards its devotional and instructive character, with some previously published collections of piety-inspiring gems by the same author. They furnish priests and religious with good matter of illustration for instructions and devotional exercises in honor of the Holy Ghost.

The *Journal of American History*, the second number of which has just been issued by the "Associated Publishers of American Records" (New Haven, Conn.), is a splendid specimen of both bookmaking and historic art collecting. Its purpose is to gather recorded incidents and documents relating to the history, art, literature, science, industry, and such phases of national life as pertain to the moral, intellectual, and political uplift of the American nation. The two issues are rich in choice memoirs, reminiscences, fugitive documents, items of folklore and tradition, with reflections on facts in the lives of our great men of the past, upbuilders of the American Republic. (Quarterly.)

Dr. Albert Kuhn's *Allgemeine Kunst Geschichte* (Benziger Brothers), which deals with the history, technique, and esthetic aspects of art, has reached the thirty-ninth part, in which the architecture, plastic and painting, of the neo-classic period are discussed from the noble viewpoint of Christian philosophy. The work of the learned Benedictine priest and artist author is truly representative.

The new periodical devoted to Franciscan studies is soon to appear. The title, instead of being *Analecta Waddingiana*, as originally intended and as announced in these pages a short time ago, will be *Archivium Francescano Historicum*. It will appear quarterly from the press of St. Bonaventure's College at Quaracchi, near Florence, and will comprise about 160 pages. The subscription price will be fourteen francs. In make-up the magazine will somewhat resemble the *Analecta Bollandiana*, and will contain Franciscan MSS., original studies in historical questions, and bibliography of all books and periodicals coming within its scope. It will admit articles in Latin, French, Italian, German, English, and Spanish. Fr. Jerome Golubovich, O. F. M., already well known to the literary world, will be the editor-in-chief, and will have as associate editors Fathers Paschal Robinson, Theophilus Dominicelli, Leonard Lemmens, Niccolo Dal-Gal, Michael Bihl—all of them seasoned scholars in *re Franciscana*.

There is not a little thought forcibly expressed in President Butler's *True and False Democracy* (Macmillan, 1907). The booklet contains just three academic lectures or addresses extending scarcely beyond a hundred pages, but the limitations of its bulk are in inverse proportion to the range of its suggestiveness. Mr. Butler's observations on the catchwords "equality" and "liberty" are particularly sane. The time has, of course, gone by when the mere appellation "socialistic" is a sufficient reason for condemning a measure to which it is attached, but the President of Colum-

bia University indicates a flaw that enfeebles the very heart of the socialistic system. Socialism would substitute for individual initiative collective and corporate responsibility as regards property and production, with a view to overcome the evils of an excessive individualism; but, as the author observes, the corporate or collective responsibility which socialism would substitute for individual initiative is only such corporate responsibility as a group of those very same individuals could exercise. Therefore socialism is primarily an attempt to overcome man's individual imperfections by adding them together, in the hope that they will cancel each other—which is bad arithmetic and worse psychology.

In pursuing a formula, socialism fails to take account of the facts. Out of the people it would constitute a mob, in forgetfulness of the fact that the mob, led or unled, is the most serious foe that the people have ever had to face. The Roman Republic conquered every enemy but its own vices. With this warning written large across the page of history America may have something to learn of Rome (p. 13).

Especially timely, too, are Mr. Butler's estimate of the "equality" shibboleth: "It is true, as Le Bon says, that the advances of civilization are due to the small phalanx of eminent men which each civilized people possesses. Least of all can a democracy hope to succeed without an élite of its own. Only we must see to it that this élite is recruited from talent or capacity for public service—and is not artificially limited by conditions of birth or of wealth. In this respect I like to think that our practice is in advance of our rather shabby theory as to equality. Nature knows no such thing as equality. 'It is a human invention thrown up as an artificial barrier against selfishness and tyranny.' The law of life is the development of the heterogeneous, the dissimilar, the unequal. It tends away from the dull inefficiency of uniform equality toward the high effectiveness of well-organized differences. Destroy inequality of talent and capacity, and life as we know it stops. Democracy becomes unthinkable. The cornerstone of democracy is natural inequality, its ideal the selection of the most fit. Liberty is far more precious than equality, and the two are mutually destructive" (p. 57).

Mr. Butler's observations on democracy are suggestive rather than profound or thorough. Their effectiveness, too, concerns chiefly the political aspects of democracy. Regarding the relation of democracy to education the book is much less stimulating. Here the thought is somewhat disappointingly on the surface, and dips into no underlying principle. After reading the little book one could hardly do better than go back to an academic oration delivered by Orestes Brownson at Dartmouth College just sixty-four years ago this month. Brownson was younger by a score of years than the academician before us; but his thought was riper and richer in a degree immeasured by time. The ground covered by the two speakers is largely the same, and in various respects their points of view and arguments are similar, but the depth and continuity of thought are wholly with the earlier. Brownson's essay is entitled *The Scholar's Mission*, and is found in volume 19 of his collected works.